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"Who Wants to Live Forever" by

Queen was a constant presence in my mind while working on this issue. The song is featured in the 1986 movie *Highlander*, the story of a secret race of immortal warriors who live among us on Earth. Immortality is a staple of a lot of science fiction and fantasy, but the quest to live forever is also a dominant motif in history.

Immortality factors heavily in this issue's cover story on the mummies of ancient Egypt, which details the extreme lengths to which people have gone to overcome death. For thousands of years, Egyptians practiced complex mummification rites and rituals to ensure that their bodies and souls would live on in the afterlife.

While measuring their spiritual success is challenging, it is certain that these traditions have granted a kind of immortality to ancient Egyptians from all walks of life: young and old, noble and common, women and men. Their carefully preserved mummies have inspired curiosity, conversation, and exploration for millennia as they continue to reveal cultural, economic, and medical insights into how their lives were lived all those years ago. Rather than fading away and being forgotten, they are living forever.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

PHOTO: ABALDO DE LUCA

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VOL. 3 NO. 1

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Written between the second and fourth century A.D., a stash of Gnostic gospels was found in 1945 in the Nile-side community of Nag Hammadi in Egypt, a crucible of early Christianity.

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Ancient Egypt's professional mummifiers filled an important spiritual and cultural role for millennia, uniting body and soul after death.

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A mysterious ancient city produced copper for kings, its whereabouts unknown until the 20th century, when archaeologists identified it as Enkomi in Cyprus.

LOST (AND FOUND) AT SEA

The Black Sea's Underwater Graveyard

Remote-controlled cameras offer a first-time glimpse of numerous wrecks entombed in the icy depths off the coast of Bulgaria.

While probing the depths of the Black Sea last year, a team of scientists made a surprising discovery, one that they weren't even looking for. The group had been investigating the effects of sea-level change on early human societies, but after their underwater cameras probed the depths of the Black Sea they quickly saw why the Greeks nicknamed it the "Hostile Sea." In its deep, dark waters, ancient shipwrecks are scattered across the seafloor.

Submerged Surprises

At first, wreck-spotting was far from the minds of the Maritime Archaeology Project (MAP) team, who started surveying the seabed off the coast of Bulgaria. Partnering with maritime archaeologists from across Europe and the United States, MAP's mission was to study how sea-level change affected early human societies around the end of the last ice age, about 12,000 years ago.

VENETIAN EXPLORER MARCO POLO (1254-1324), DEPICTED IN A MOSAIC AT THE PALAZZO TURSI, GENOA, ITALY
ALBUM

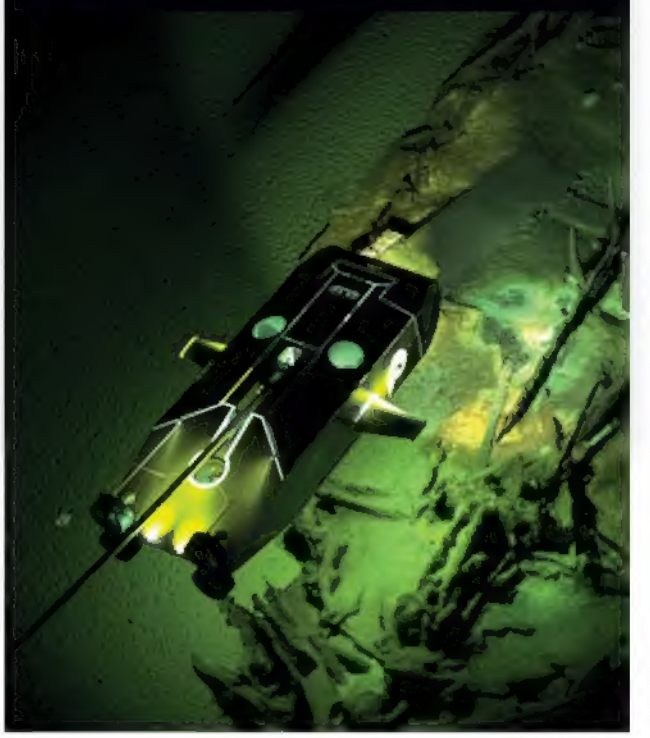
BELOW THE SURFACE In the deep waters of the Black Sea, a remotely operated vehicle (left) illuminates a wreck dating to the Ottoman era. Above, the wreck of a 13th-century Venetian *cocha*.

EEF, BLACK SEA MAP

LOW WRECK TO HIGH TECH

THANKS TO ITS deep, oxygen-starved waters, the Black Sea has preserved huge numbers of wrecks, and now, thanks to the technology used by the Maritime Archaeology Project (MAP), people on the surface can see them up close. Lowered from MAP's research vessel (a former oil-industry craft called *Stril Explorer*), the team's ROVs can approach the wrecks and image them using photogrammetry. This complex technique consists of taking meticulous measurements of the wreck from many angles, along with thousands of high-resolution photos. The data are fed into a computer, which combines the measurements and images to create a clear image, often picking up details such as ropes and carvings.

AN ROV MAKES A PASS OVER A WRECK FROM THE BYZANTINE ERA.



AUSCAPE/GETTY IMAGES

As Earth warmed and glacial ice melted, sea levels rose. Water from the Mediterranean spilled over into Asia Minor, creating the Black Sea. While studying these environmental changes, the MAP team's remotely operated vehicles (ROVs) stumbled on the first of the wrecks that lay untouched on the bottom.

Preserved at Sea

More than 40 shipwrecks dating across a millennium were identified. The earliest is from the 800s, during the Byzantine Empire, and the rest largely date from when the sea was under Ottoman rule, from the 14th to the 19th centuries.

These ships offer historians new insights into the commercial networks that linked Europe with its eastern trading partners. Braving the Hostile Sea to bring grain, cattle, wine, and textiles to European cities was clearly a dangerous enterprise.

The Black Sea holds one of the best examples of a medieval variety of Venetian ship, which probably sank sometime in the 13th century. The lights of an ROV picked out the vessel's distinctive quarterdeck, identifying this wreck as a *cocha*, or "round ship." If, as the team believes, this boat served the Venetian empire, then the ill-fated cocha would have sunk during Venice's golden era—the period when Marco Polo recorded his adventures.

Of great interest to scientists are the artifacts. In most oceans, ropes and spars are rapidly consumed by oxygenated waters, but in the Black Sea oxygen is entirely absent below depths of 500 feet. These delicate remains have been perfectly preserved.

Archaeologists have long suspected that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of wrecks must have been preserved in these conditions, but only a well-financed project such as MAP can deploy the technology capable of imaging objects at such depths. ■

Frederick the Great: The Enlightened Warrior

Survivor of an abusive father, Frederick II blossomed when he took the throne. He attracted the great thinkers of Europe to his court while establishing Prussia as a dominant military power.

Philosophy, Progress, and Power

1712

Frederick of Hohenzollern, the son and heir of the second King of Prussia, Frederick William I, and Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, is born in Berlin.

1740

Frederick II accedes to the throne of Prussia after the death of his father. A few months later, he invades Silesia and starts an eight-year war with Austria.

1750

Voltaire arrives in Prussia. Caught up in the intellectual rivalries of Frederick's palace, he later offends the king and will flee in 1753.

1756

The Seven Years' War begins. Allied with Britain, Frederick fights Austria, Russia, and France and emerges a powerful leader.

1786

Frederick dies at Sanssouci. He is buried in Potsdam, where, in 1806, Napoleon pays him homage.

Throughout history, small states have come out of nowhere, and rapidly become great powers. This was the case of Prussia, a former duchy that in the early 1700s emerged from the shadow of Poland and the Holy Roman Empire. Growing to encompass much of northern and central Europe, Prussia was led to new heights by Frederick II.

Ruling from his new capital, Berlin, Frederick's father, Frederick William I, was Prussia's second monarch. During his reign (1713–1740), Frederick William built up a large, well-trained army from his small population. His acquisition of new lands made Prussia prosperous as well as formidable.

Frederick William I was a man of iron discipline, whose military obsession bordered on the fanatical, but his son seemed to be his exact opposite. Young Frederick was a talented musician, a lover of philosophy and poetry, and an admirer of the French, whose language and culture would deeply mark his future reign. Considering those pursuits effeminate, the king abused his son both emotionally and physically. In 1730 Frederick attempted to run away to England, but the plot was foiled and Frederick imprisoned. His father not only had his main accomplice (and perhaps his lover), the officer Hans Hermann von Katte, beheaded, but also forced Frederick to watch the execution.

Soldier and Scholar

After Frederick William I's death in 1740, his son and successor took the throne and surprisingly went on to achieve stunning military victories, consolidating Prussia's role as a great European power. Frederick II, later "the Great," managed to combine his military prowess with the French ideals he had absorbed through his education, establishing the model for enlightened despotism in Europe.

Like many great leaders, however, Frederick II was something of a contradiction. Among the many books he wrote in French was a denunciation of Niccolò Machiavelli, in which Frederick sternly criticized the 16th-century Italian author's cynical stratagems to exploit power. Yet Frederick II was not without a streak of Machiavellian practicality himself. For all his love of French poetry and the fine arts, he did not shy away from militarism to strengthen the Prussia he inherited from his father.

In 1740 he stunned Europe by launching a surprise invasion of the wealthy region of Silesia, which then belonged to

AKG-IMAGES

For all his noble Enlightenment ideals, Frederick acted ruthlessly, and decisively, against his enemies.

FREDERICK'S FLAG PRUSSIAN INFANTRY BANNER FROM THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763

AKG/ALBUM

HATER OF WOMEN, LOVER OF MEN?

FREDERICK II's sexual orientation is debated by historians, some of whom argue that he was homosexual. Frederick's lack of interest in women was well known. Arranged by his tyrannical father, his marriage to Elizabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern was loveless: Frederick once described his wife as "this sour subspecies of the female sex" and effectively banished her from court. At Sanssouci, his circle consisted exclusively of men, many young and handsome. But conclusive proof of Frederick's affairs is elusive: Some historians believe he lost sexual function in his youth from an attempt to treat a sexually transmitted disease.

FREDERICK THE GREAT BY JOHANN HEINRICH FRANKE, 1764

Habsburg Austria. This action triggered the War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted eight years and brought Frederick's diplomatic and military skills to the fore. The Peace of Aachen ended the conflict in 1748 and formally ceded Silesia to Prussia, a triumph for the new Prussian king.

The Philosophers' Palace

In the late 1740s Frederick began building an extravagant summer palace in Potsdam, near Berlin. In homage to his Francophile leanings, it was given the French name of Sanssouci, meaning "carefree." Frederick envisioned his estate as a kind of Versailles for Berlin, a place given over to the enjoyment of the arts and the exploration of the latest trends in Enlightenment thinking.

Intellectuals traveled from all over Europe to Sanssouci, among them mathematician Pierre-Louis Maupertuis, whom Frederick summoned to head the Berlin Academy. Maupertuis's ostentatious wigs and high-pitched voice made quite an impression, as did his intellect. In the 1730s, he had proven that the world was flattened at the poles, just as Isaac Newton had predicted.

The French philosopher Julien Offroy de La Mettrie also took up residence at Sanssouci. His famous book, *L'Homme-machine (The Human Machine)* argued for a materialistic—and, some argued, an atheistic—understanding of human motivations. Mettrie was one of a number of colorful and controversial houseguests at Sanssouci, which also included the French writer Marquis d'Argens. Among other works, the marquis is credited with *Thérèse philosophe*, a best-selling 1748 novel that blended pornography with philosophical musings on female sexuality and religious power in society.

FREDERICK II playing the flute at a concert in Sanssouci Palace, 19th-century oil painting by Adolph Menzel

ALBUM

But the most coveted of all the jewels in Frederick's court was undoubtedly François-Marie Arouet, better known by his pseudonym, Voltaire. By the time Frederick was building Sanssouci, Voltaire was the most famous intellectual in Europe, loved and hated for his stinging attacks on power and his rallying cry for religious freedom and rational thought. He arrived in Prussia in 1750, grieving the death of his lover, the Marquise du Châtelet. The French king Louis XV, contemptuous toward the Enlightenment thinkers, was said to have declared: "One more madman in the Prussian court and one less in mine."

A Singular Court

Frederick and his international coterie often dined together, talking late into the night. The atmosphere that he cultivated at Sanssouci reflected his fondness for men and his distaste for women. Voltaire commented: "Neither women nor priests ever entered the palace. In a word, Frederick lived without religion, without a council, and without a court." The king, Voltaire wrote, flaunted his predilection for young officers. "When His Majesty was dressed and booted, he had two or three favorites come, either lieutenants of his regiment, or pages, or *hajduks* [Hungarian infantry], or young cadets. They took coffee. He to whom the handkerchief was thrown stayed another quarter of an hour in privacy."

Voltaire's role at Sanssouci was to act as a sort of literary adviser and editor to Frederick, polishing his poetry and suggesting ways to improve it. Because Frederick's poetic talent was mediocre at best, the

A KING'S BEST FRIEND

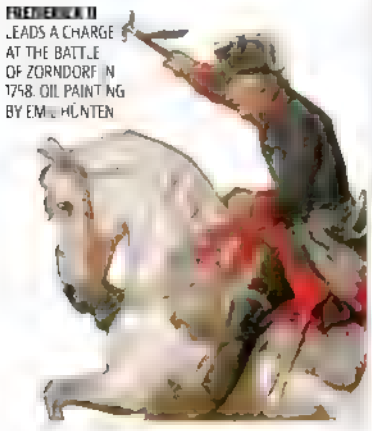
AN UNABASHED DOG LOVER, Frederick II is credited with coining the phrase "man's best friend" to describe one of his greyhounds. The phrase appeared in a 1789 biography, published after his death. Frederick wanted to be buried next to his dogs at Sanssouci, but his heir entombed him in Potsdam next to his hated father. After the reunification of Germany, Frederick the Great finally got his wish: He was interred alongside his canine companions in 1991.

FREDERICK II'S ITALIAN GREYHOUND 18TH-CENTURY OIL PAINTING. SANSSOUCI PALACE

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

MILITARY MARVEL

FREDERICK II personally led his forces into battles, earning him a reputation for bravery as well as an expert, even genius, commander. His greatest triumph was in 1757 at Leuthen against an army twice the size of his own. Napoleon later regarded that battle as "a masterpiece of movements, maneuvers, and resolution."



FREDERICK II LEADS A CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF ZORNDORF IN 1758. OIL PAINTING BY EMIL HÜNTEN

AKG/ALBUM

working relationship with the man he once gushingly named the Solomon of the North, soured. "Will the king never tire of giving me his dirty laundry to wash?" Voltaire quipped one day to La Mettrie, who immediately reported the comment to the king. "I shall need him for another year," Frederick is said to have responded. "We shall squeeze the orange and throw the peel away." In the end, having fallen out with the mathematician Maupertuis, Voltaire fled Prussia in 1753. Enraged, Frederick ordered him put under house arrest in Frankfurt before Voltaire finally made it to safety in Geneva.

Bloodied, not Bowed

Following the flight of his most valued philosopher, Frederick threw himself back into military pursuits. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was triggered by the alliance formed among Russia, Austria, and France, with the aim of curbing the growing power of both Great Britain and Prussia. At first Frederick won resounding victories, defeating France and Austria at Rossbach in 1757. Later that year, at Leuthen, he overcame difficult conditions to beat the Austrian army.

The war later turned against the Prussian sovereign, when Russia occupied Berlin. His army battered, and his state coffers severely depleted, Frederick nevertheless battled back to retake lost territory, creating the impressive reputation for Prussian military resilience.

The Seven Years' War had major global ramifications that extended to North America, where British colonies sparred with the French and indigenous peoples. In 1763, when the conflict ended, Britain was emerging as a world power, and Prussia's standing in Europe was considerably boosted.

Having proved his leadership, Frederick kept faith with his Enlightenment ideals until the end of his reign. In his "Essay on the Forms of Government" (1777), he argued that a prince "is merely the principal servant of the State. Hence, he must act with honesty, wisdom, and complete disinterestedness in such a way that he can render an account of his stewardship to his citizens."

There is good evidence that Frederick lived out some of these ideals in practice. A proponent of religious tolerance and an ally of progress and science, his reformatory zeal was limited by the interests of Prussia's landed gentry, the Junkers, whose deep-rooted conservatism blocked any radical reform. For all Frederick loathed the military rigidity of his father, by 1786 (the year he died) Prussia had a 195,000-strong army—a huge force for the small kingdom that had become the envy of Europe.

—Martí Domínguez

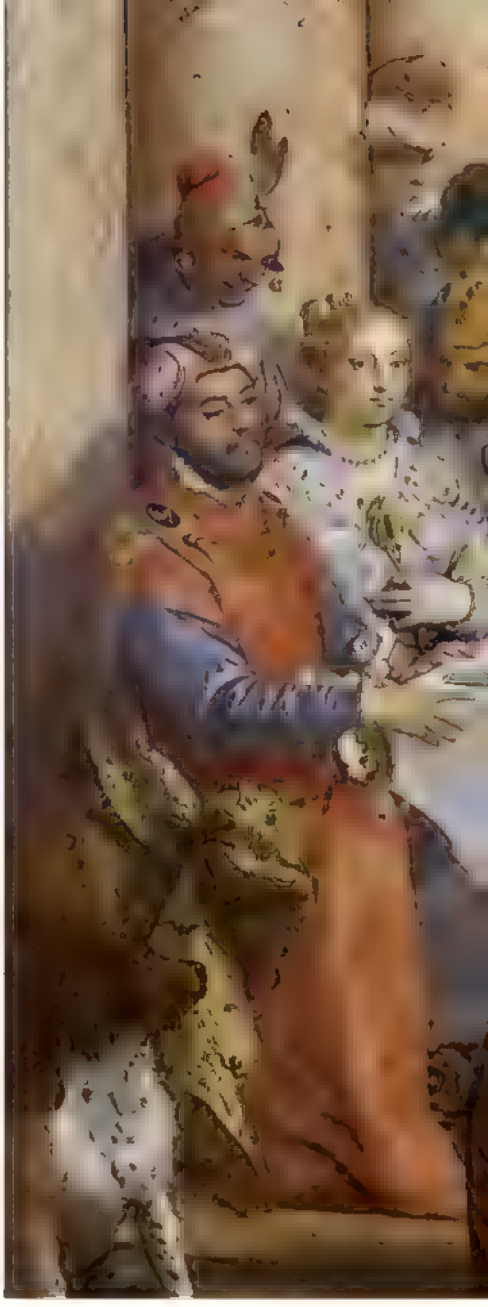
Turning the Tables on Bad Manners

Forks, knives, and napkins: These items may be part of a proper meal today, but well-bred medieval Europeans had no use for them—until modern table manners were born in the 1500s.

The 16th century was an age of exploration in all senses of the term, a period when colossal advances in art, science, and geography reshaped Europeans' understanding of the world. In the early 1500s, as explorers probed the New World, some of the greatest masterpieces of the Renaissance were being created, such as Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, completed in 1512. As the century was ending, the plays of Shakespeare were exploring the human condition, while in Padua, a young professor named Galileo Galilei began to open up the secrets of the solar system.

At first, *Hamlet* and the planets seem far removed from table manners. But social historians see close links between the Renaissance outlook and the rapid development of codes of behavior at the table. In her 1954 book *The Art of Eating*, the American writer M. F. K. Fisher pinpoints a year when the dinners of the European nobility started to become rather more refined affairs—1533, the year of the wedding between the 14-year-old Catherine de' Medici (the niece of Pope Clement VII) and the future French king Henry II of France.

Catherine was raised in Florence, the epicenter of the growing cult of refined eating habits. Her arrival in France, Fisher writes, shocked the Italian noblewoman: "Paris seemed harsh and boorish to the lonesome Florentines. They moped for the gay lightness of their own banquet-halls ... Here in Paris many people still laughed jeeringly at the "those Italian neatnesses called forks" and gulped down great chunks of strongly seasoned meat from their knife-ends or their greasy fingers." Catherine was determined to change such customs, which is why her marriage in that year, Fisher writes, "changed the table manners of Europe."



Medieval Times
The mealtime antics of the French that so appalled Catherine had been the norm in much of Europe for many centuries. During the Middle Ages, most dining tables were simply boards placed over trestles, a practice that survives in the expression "set the table." The board was then covered with a cloth, on which diners would wipe their hands directly, a custom that seems to have been followed by people of all social backgrounds. Knives, spoons, and cups were shared, and soup was drunk straight from the bowl. Diners used their knives to spear meat from a shared platter and put it either on a board or thick slice of bread,

PHOTOAISA

STATE SECRETS OF STEMWARE

AS MANNERS became more refined, so too d'd stemware Glassmakers in 16th-century Venice became wel known for the fragil'ty and beauty of the'r dr'nking vesse s. The Venetian government closely guarded the techn'ques to create such d'stinct've pieces Art'sans could not leave the c'ty, and those who d'd would face ser'ous pena t'es

VENETIAN GOBLET 16TH TO 17TH CENTURIES. VEN CE GLASS MJSEJM

IDEALIZING harmony and beauty, this detail from Paolo Veronese's 1563 painting "The Wedding Feast at Cana" reflects the importance of refined dining in the Renaissance mind. Louvre Museum, Paris

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

which was usually shared by two people.

Despite the chaos and messiness of medieval mealtimes, some basic etiquette prevailed. These are recorded in behavioral guides such as that written in 1384 by Francesc Eiximenis, a theologian from Catalonia in modern-day Spain, who encouraged well-bred diners to follow certain rules: "If you have spat or blown your nose, never clean your hands on the tablecloth," he admonished. But even Eiximenis reveals the gulf between his own age and modern sensibilities toward food hygiene: If a diner did need to spit during a meal, he reasoned, "do it behind you, never on the table or anyone else."

Separate Lives at Separate Tables

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES, it was the custom in much of Europe for lords to feast alongside their servants. Although the two classes did not eat and drink the same items, their sharing of the same space reflected the feudal notion that lords protected and provided for their serfs in return for their absolute loyalty. During the Renaissance, this ancient practice began to fall into disuse—yet another sign of the times, in which a widening gulf was created between the haves and the have-nots. Little by little, the old medieval communitarianism, which ensured that masters provided food for their servants, was also being left behind. During the 17th century, English nobles also dropped the custom of inviting their less fortunate neighbors to celebrate feast days alongside them.

ROUGHING IT

ADOPTING THE NEW table manners was hardly an option for the poor, who were the vast majority of the European population. In 1702, the French traveler Jouvin de Rochefort recalled eating with a family of cowherds in Austria: "They offered me the best seat in the house, a washbasin placed upside down, while they sat on the floor." Then they laid a table "with no tablecloth, napkins, forks or spoons," and ate with their fingers.

PEASANTS MAKING MERRY (DETAIL) BRUEGEL THE YOUNGER, 16TH CENTURY. PRIVATE COLLECTION

THE CHÂTEAU de Vaux-le-Vicomte, at Maincy, France, was built during Louis XIV's reign. Its ornate dining room reflects the elaborate setting in which high-society diners were taking their meals by the 17th century.

In spite of the general easygoing attitude of the medieval period toward hygiene, table manners were not born in a vacuum. In Italy, the culture that would give rise to Catherine's crusade for table manners took root in the medieval period itself. Well-born little Florentines, including Catherine, were brought up on the manual *Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, written by Fra Bonvicino da Riva in the 1290s. Even so, despite such precedents, there is little doubt that Catherine's arrival in France coincided with a continent-wide Renaissance movement to raise the bar on dining customs.

To the Manner Born

To judge from the stature of some writers, table manners were no trivial matter. In 1530, three years before Catherine's journey to France, Erasmus of Rotterdam found time out from creating a modern version of the Greek New Testament and criticizing the abuses of the Church to write a treatise that included a study of table manners. *De Civilitate morum puerilium (A Handbook on Good Manners for Children)* rapidly went through more than 30 editions.

Written for the young Henry of Burgundy, son of Adolph, Prince of Veere (a city in the modern-day Netherlands) Erasmus's book highlights the importance of restraint. "Some people, no sooner than they have sat down, immediately stick their hands into the dishes of food. This is the manner of wolves." Correct use of the various utensils was a crucial element of refined table manners. "To shove your fingers into dishes with sauce is very rude. You should pick up what you want with a knife or fork. And you should not pick out bits from all over the dish."

The new, humanist etiquette went beyond outward appearance. Agreeable conversation was an important part of the menu: "As you wash your hands," Erasmus advises, "so too, clear troubles from your mind. For it is not good manners to be gloomy at dinner or to make anyone else miserable."

In his treatise, Erasmus also says that good manners are what distinguish us from beasts or crude people: "For those

"For those... born into privilege, it is disgraceful when their manners do not match their position."—*Erasmus*

SALTCELLAR BELONGING TO KING FRANCIS OF FRANCE. BENVENUTO CELLINI, 16TH CENTURY. CORDON PRESS

ETIQUETTE EVOLUTION: THE 16TH CENTURY

A detailed painting of the wedding feast of Princess Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Spanish king Philip II, reveals the opulence and complexity of fine dining. Alonso Sánchez Coello, ca 1579. National Museum, Warsaw, Poland

① Dinner service
The highly valuable decanters and vessels were often marked with the owner's monogram or initials.

② Cake
Extravagant desserts were made for banquets, such as this cake, which bears the Habsburg pennant.

③ Tablecloth
Napkins were used to protect the magnificently embroidered tablecloth and the diners' attire.

④ Bread
The appropriate way to break bread was to cut it with a knife—not to tear it apart with one's bare hands.

⑤ Cutlery
Personal use of cutlery together with a plate began during the Renaissance. Each guest here has a three-pronged fork.

lucky enough to be born into privilege, it is disgraceful when their manners do not match their position."

Jean-Louis Flandrin, a 20th-century culinary historian, has observed that eating customs offer important clues as to how to understand an age. The 16th-century search for shared standards of manners was an integral part of the Renaissance concept of personal betterment. Since people increasingly looked down on eating with one's fingers, all sorts of new dining implements were introduced: plates, fine stemware, and individual cutlery. Napkins were increasingly adopted by the upper classes to protect the delicate tablecloths that decorated the tables, as well as the diners' own clothes. Initially they were only used for grand occasions, when guests had to show that they knew how to use them properly by placing them on their left shoulder, as etiquette required.

Forking Out

As napkin use spread, so did the use of another implement—the fork, which had to overcome huge initial resistance to establish itself as the third utensil. One of the earliest known forks in Europe belonged to a Byzantine princess, Theodora Anna Doukaina, who traveled to Venice in 1071 to marry the Doge Domenico Selvo. The two-pronged fork she used to put food in her mouth caused a scandal with the Venetians, who regarded themselves as sophisticated. The Vatican's representative in Venice even suggested it was a diabolical instrument. Even so, fork use started to spread throughout Italy.

When Catherine de' Medici arrival in France in 1533, she attempted to popularize fork usage. While Catherine did much to Italianize French dining habits, the fork remained rather slow to catch on. When Catherine's son, regarded by some as effete and homosexual, was later crowned Henry III, his use of a fork was still being ridiculed.

Writing around this time, the French writer Thomas Artus, mocked courtly manners in *Description of the Island of Hermaphrodites:* "When dining, they never touch the meat with their fingers but instead with forks, which they put in their mouths by stretching their necks."

Widespread use of forks did not take root until much later. In 1611, Thomas Coryat, an English traveler who adopted the custom of using a fork when in Italy, wrote how his compatriots made fun of him on his return. It was only in the 18th century that guides to manners required the use of a fork as an individual implement. By this time, writers on etiquette would have struggled to believe how much the fork, napkin, and individual plate had had to fight for their place at the table.

—*Francesca Prince*

The "Cantino Planisphere": Transition to a New Age

In 1502, as Europeans hungrily looked to the vast new continent across the Atlantic Ocean, innovative maps of these unfamiliar territories became objects of power and intrigue. Alberto Cantino, an Italian spy, acquired a Portuguese map showing stunning finds in the New World.

Knowledge is power—and no knowledge was more assiduously coveted by European nations in the early 16th century than the information recorded on nautical maps. Coastlines, harbors, rivers, resources: Details about these features could give a nation a distinct advantage in trying to stake a claim to new lands

The "Cantino Planisphere," completed in 1502, is the second known chart to have depicted the New World. It included unpublished information on Portuguese trade routes and the ongoing discovery of the coastline of modern-day Brazil. At a time when knowledge of new territories lent expanding nations great strategic and commercial superiority, such maps were guarded as state secrets. Spies would do anything to get their hands on them.

Comprising six pieces of parchment attached to a large canvas measuring about four by eight feet, the "Cantino Planisphere" was created in Lisbon. The word "planisphere" means a sphere represented as a plane (i.e., a flat surface) and is more typically used to describe star charts.

NEW WORLD, OLD INSTINCTS Created in 1502, the "Cantino Planisphere" presented new data on the New World while still incorporating key traits of the medieval worldview. Jerusalem appears at the very center of the world. Legendary sites, such as the Christian African kingdom ruled by Prester John or the Mountains of the Moon, are depicted alongside confirmed locations.

CROMOZ/ALBUM

It is named for Alberto Cantino, who was working in Portugal as an undercover agent of Ercole I d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, a powerful city-state in northern Italy. Historical accounts differ as to how Cantino acquired the map. According to one version, he contracted a well-connected mapmaker to sneak into a Portuguese repository of nautical charts and compile the information he gleaned to create this map. Other historians argue the map already existed, and Cantino used Ferrara's considerable wealth to buy it. Whichever way the map was acquired, records show that Cantino paid a hefty price for it: 12 gold ducats, a large sum at the time.

Putting It Together

Mapmakers of this age were faced with a colossal task: to unite extensive oral and written sources into a single image. Created a year or two before Cantino's map, the earliest known depiction of the New World was made by Juan de la Cosa, a colleague of Christopher Columbus. Both maps reveal the great challenge the New World presented to mapmakers, who were still relying on centuries-old cartographic traditions.

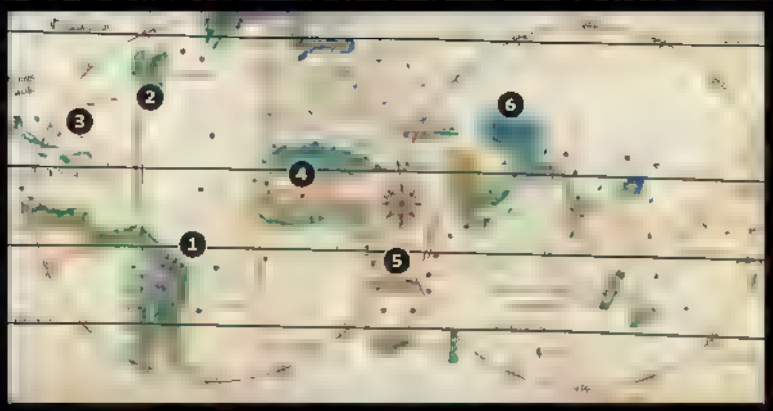
Medieval maps were usually constructed using a wind rose (a diagram showing the frequency, strength, and direction of different winds), from which lines emerged depicting different routes. This information was suitable for coastal navigation; when equipped with a compass, navigators could rely on the coastline as a visual reference.

VASCO DA GAMA MINIATURE FROM *LIVRO DE LISUARTE DE ABREU*, 1524. MORGAN LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

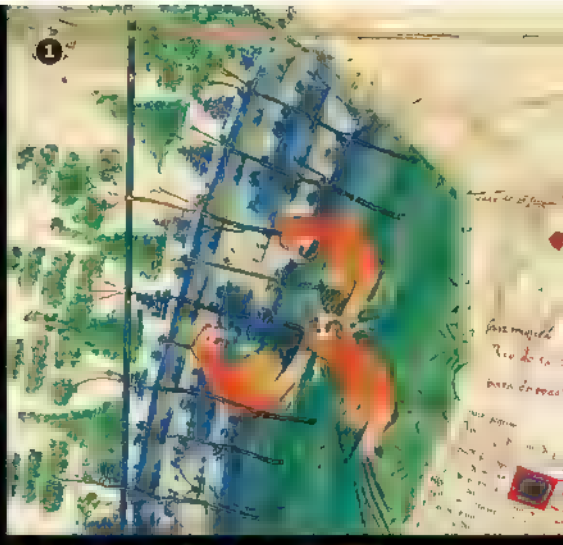
AKG/ALBUM

Charting a Course: From Medieval *Portolan* to a Modern Map of the World

THE MEDIEVAL nautical chart known as a *portolan* served as a basis for the planisphere's design. Portuguese for "concerning ports or harbors," the portolan was useful for close-to-shore navigation. A key aspect was the wind rose network: 32-point circles that defined sailing courses, of which there are numerous examples on the "Cantino Planisphere." During the 15th century, as Portuguese ships ventured ever farther south along the coast of Africa, their pilots developed a return route in the open ocean that avoided unfavorable winds. With horizons expanded to include the New World, and inclusion of latitude lines to assist with open-ocean navigation, the "Cantino Planisphere" marks a key moment in the evolution of maps from a local to a global perspective.



DOMINATED BY A LARGE WIND ROSE AT THE CENTER, THE "CANTINO PLANISPHERE" DEPICTED BOTH NEWLY DISCOVERED PLACES AND LEGENDARY LOCATIONS. SIX FEATURES ARE DESCRIBED IN DETAIL TO THE RIGHT.



Transatlantic navigation, of course, meant leaving the coastline behind, and Cantino's map testifies to a key moment in cartography: the transition to astronavigation. The first map to include the Equator, tropics, and the Arctic Circle, the "Cantino Planisphere" is also the first map to show the "Tordesillas line," running north to south, which set the border between Spanish and Portuguese territories. Portugal could claim lands east of this line, while Spain could lay claim to lands to the west

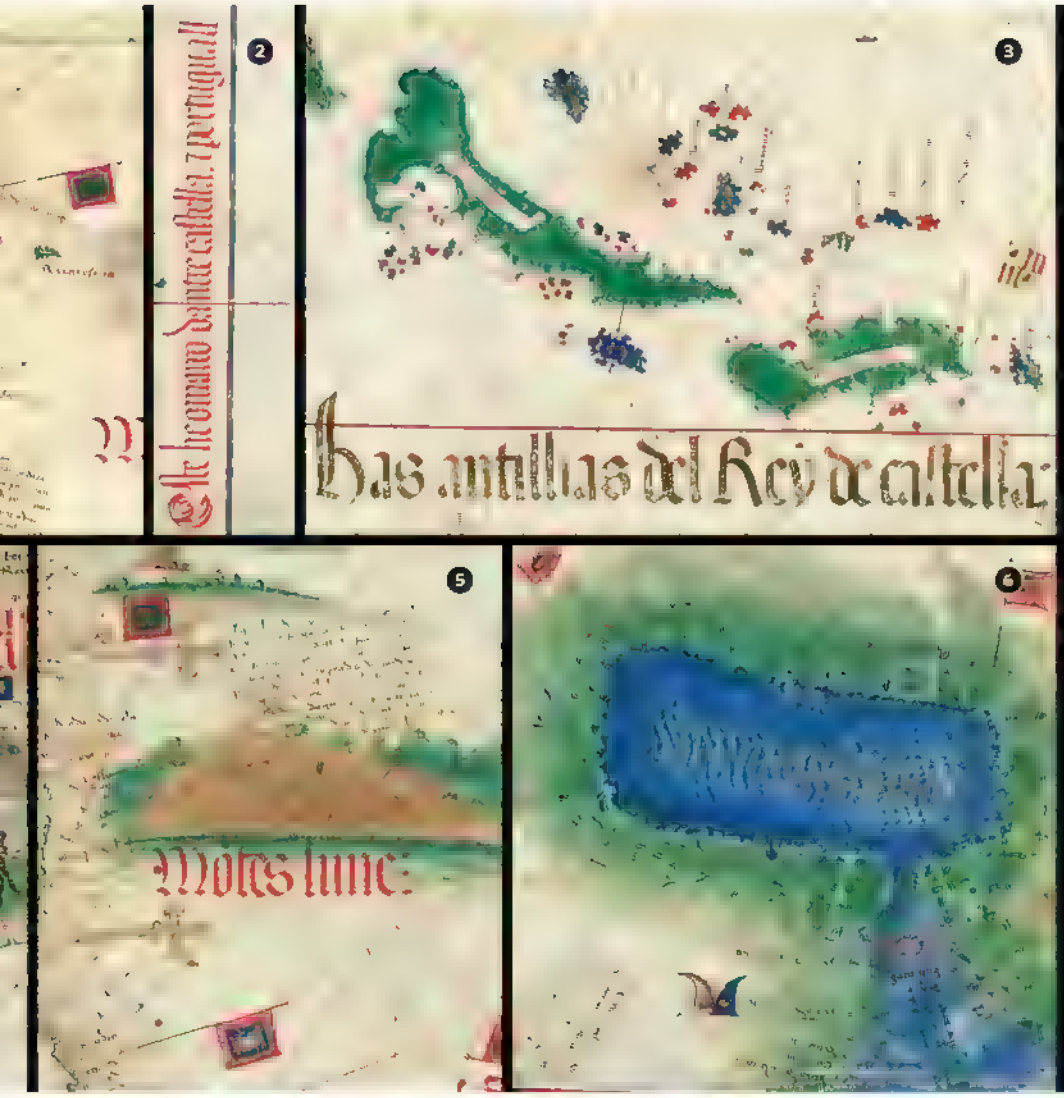
Wealth of Information

The "Cantino Planisphere" reflects the attempts to pack a map with key political, cultural, and economic information. Illustrations of local wildlife appear on the map: gray Senegal parrots in West Africa contrasting with the colorful macaws depicted in South America. Colonial landmarks are also shown in West Africa, such as the castle of São Jorge da Mina, built in the 1480s by John II of Portugal, which grew into a major African trade hub.

The journeys of 15th- and 16th-century European explorers are depicted on Cantino's map including Vasco da Gama's first voyage in search of a sea route to India (1497–99) and the "discovery" of the Brazilian coast in 1500 by compatriot Pedro Álvares Cabral (although some historians argue the Spaniard Vicente

Cantino's map testifies to a key moment in cartography: the transition to astronavigation.

WIND ROSE DETAIL FROM THE "PORTOLAN ATLAS OF THE WORLD" (1587)
PRISMA/ALBUM



① *Brazilian coastline*
Discovered by Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500, it is depicted on the map with parrots and tropical jungle.

② *The Tordesillas Line*
"This is the border between Castile [Spain] and Portugal." The demarcation line was set in 1494 in Tordesillas, Spain.

③ *Caribbean Islands*
The "Antilles of the King of Castile." A Castile flag flies near Santo Domingo, capital of the modern-day Dominican Republic.

④ *Africa*
Founded in the 1480s, the Castle of São Jorge da Mina, which still stands in Ghana today, played a major role in the transatlantic slave trade.

⑤ *Mountains of the Moon*
Mentioned by Ptolemy as the source of the Nile, these legendary mountains are here placed considerably farther south.

⑥ *Persian Gulf*
Only a rough outline is shown, depicting the gulf as a large, rectangular lake.

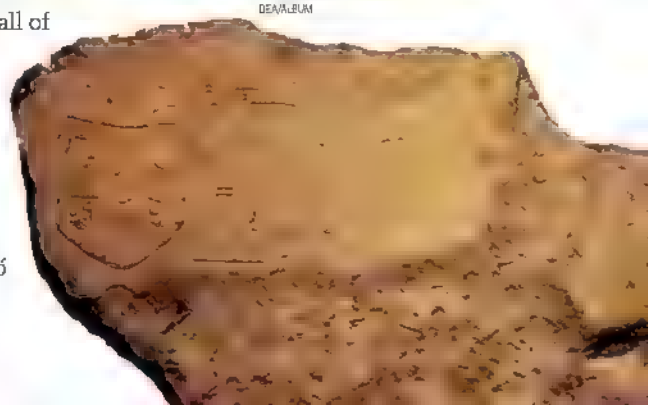
Yáñez Pinzón got there first). The information gathered from Columbus's most recent voyages in the West Indies is seen on the planisphere, as well as is the coastline of modern-day Venezuela.

It is the first map to name the Antilles, the archipelago consisting principally of modern-day Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. A thumblike peninsula to the north of Cuba is thought by some historians to be the first depiction of modern-day Florida despite Juan Ponce de León's being credited as the first European to have reached it—11 years after the planisphere was made.

Fittingly for a document chronicling voyages, the planisphere itself would be subjected to a series of perilous journeys after Cantino acquired it. In 1592, it was taken from Ferrara to the Italian city of Modena. By this time it was very much an artifact, its contents out of date, but the map was still considered valuable.

In the mid-19th century the planisphere was stolen, only to be found a few years later hanging on the wall of a butcher's shop in the city. Today it is safely conserved in the collection of Modena's Galleria Estense, a magnificent reminder of Europe's first efforts to chart the world as they were coming to know it.

—Joan Carles Oliver Torelló



DESCRIPTIONE MADE BY PORTUGUESE EXPLORER DIOGO CÃO NEAR THE CONGO RIVER, 1483. NAVY MUSEUM, LISBON
DEA/ALBUM

LIFE ETERNAL
This elaborately wrapped third-century B.C. mummy, on display at the Louvre Museum, Paris, was covered with amulets and a mask. On the Setau Stela from the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (below right), from the 14th century B.C., the gods sit in judgment of the deceased.

MUMMY: LES FRÈRES CHUZEVILLE/AMN-GRAND PALAIS/
STELA: PUSHA/ALBUM

MUMMIES

Preserving Body and Soul

Part science, part supernatural: Egyptian mummification techniques were honed over several millennia so that the spirit and the body would both continue on after death.

MILAGROS ÁLVAREZ SOSA

THE SANDS OF TIME
Preserved by the desert, the Gebelein Man was buried around 3500 B.C. British Museum, London
WORLD HISTORY ARCHIVE, AGE FOTOSTOCK

Throughout the 1800s, the new archaeological discipline of Egyptology fed a keen public appetite for stories about pyramids and mummies. An 1869 story by Louisa May Alcott, "Lost in a Pyramid," recounts an archaeologist bringing down a curse on himself when he destroys the mummy of a young girl. "I sometimes wonder if I am to share the curse," recounts his assistant later, "For I've a vein of superstition in me, and that poor little mummy haunts my dreams still."

Mummies have haunted popular culture ever since. By the time of Howard Carter's discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922, the idea of a "mummy's curse" was already well established in early cinema. Mummies have been Hollywood staples since horror superstar Boris Karloff starred in *The Mummy* in 1932. The 1999 movie *The Mummy* and its sequel *The Mummy Returns* continued the trend of the mummy as a tormented, vengeful being caught somewhere between life and death.

Sacred Reunion

Why did the Ancient Egyptians develop this costly, and to contemporary eyes, ghoulish ritual? Only by stripping away modern associations can the significance of mummies be understood. Objects of awe and mystery, they were created out of respect both for the gods and the deceased, and regarded as a natural continuation of the journey after death.

Mummification has deep roots in Egypt's climate and geography. The oldest mummies date back to the fourth millennium B.C. and received no elaborate preservation at all. At that time, bodies were buried without any kind of casket in the desert, where conditions dried and preserved the remains. As customs changed in early Egyptian society, bodies began to be placed inside caskets and tombs. Separating bodies from the ground inhibited the corpses' drying out, so Egyptians began to develop techniques to preserve bodies before burial.

These techniques were closely connected with religious beliefs, which described people as an amalgam of elements. Some of these were material: a person's body, shadow, and name. Others were associated with their spirit: the *ka*, or cosmic energy received at birth; the *ankh*, or vital breath; and the *ba*, the personality. These elements were momentarily separated when a person died—a source of much anguish to the Egyptian mind. Mummification allowed the spirit of the deceased to recognize its own body, joyfully return to it, and be reborn.

CANOPIC JAR REPRESENTING DUAMUTEF, JACKAL-HEADED SON OF HORUS, PROTECTOR OF THE STOMACH. EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, BERLIN
PRISMA/ALBUM

WELL PRESERVED

circa 3000 B.C.
Before this date, the dead are generally buried in desert graves, whose sands dry and preserve the bodies.

2575-2130 B.C.
In the Old Kingdom, some pharaohs are buried in large pyramids. Mummification is developed so that the royal bodies do not decompose.

FIT FOR A QUEEN
The mortuary temple of the 15th-century B.C. queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri near Thebes. During the New Kingdom

1938-1630 B.C.
During the Middle Kingdom, mummification is extended to the wider population and varies in complexity according to clients' budgets.

1552-1069 B.C.
Techniques are perfected during the New Kingdom, a period in which it also becomes customary to bury papyri with mummies.

664-332 B.C.
During the Late Period, there is a boom in mummified animals. Many of them are given to the gods as offerings.

2nd century A.D.
Mummification disappears with the spread of Christianity. A new set of beliefs about the afterlife takes hold.

AN EGYPTIAN BANQUET IN WHICH SERVANTS PRESENT THE MODEL OF A MUMMY TO GUESTS. EDWIN LONGSDEN LONG, 1877

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

A Dummy Mummy

WHEN GREEK HISTORIAN Herodotus toured Egypt in the middle of the fifth century B.C., he took a keen interest in mummification techniques, which he described in some detail in his *Histories*. His account also mentions a curious anecdote about "wooden models of corpses" at high society banquets.

"IN SOCIAL GATHERINGS among the rich, when the banquet is ended, a servant carries round to the several guests a coffin in which there is a wooden image of a corpse, carved and painted to resemble nature as nearly as possible, about a cubit or two in length [17 to 34 inches]. As he shows it to each guest in turn, the servant says, 'Gaze here, and drink and be merry: for when you die, such will you be.'"

The ritual mirrored the story of Osiris, god of the underworld, who was killed by his brother, Seth. Osiris's murderer scattered his body parts across the land. Only when his consort Isis intervened, reuniting and burying the fragments, could Osiris be restored to life. In Egyptian art Osiris is often mummified, a task carried out by the god Anubis. The myth underscores how Egyptians believed the soul had no hope to navigate the hereafter unless its body was whole.

The Business of Mummification

Initially, mummification was the exclusive preserve of royalty and the court. During the period of the Old Kingdom (ca 2575–2130 B.C.), there was only one team of royal embalmers, who mummified members of the pharaoh's family, courtiers, and officials to whom the monarch granted that privilege. Later, the ritual became more widespread, and independent workshops were set up. The "democratization" of mummies brought market realities into play, and levels of craftsmanship would vary widely depending on how much customers were able to pay.

Even so, embalmers from all workshops were regarded as qualified professionals. Since they possessed anatomical knowledge and had to carry out a series of rituals, they were seen as both doctors and members of the priestly social class.

Various papyri have been found that detail the different professionals involved in the process. One of the most notable was the "Lord of Secrets" *(hery sesheta)*, who performed the rituals wearing a mask of Anubis, the god of embalming believed to have carried out the mummification of Osiris himself.

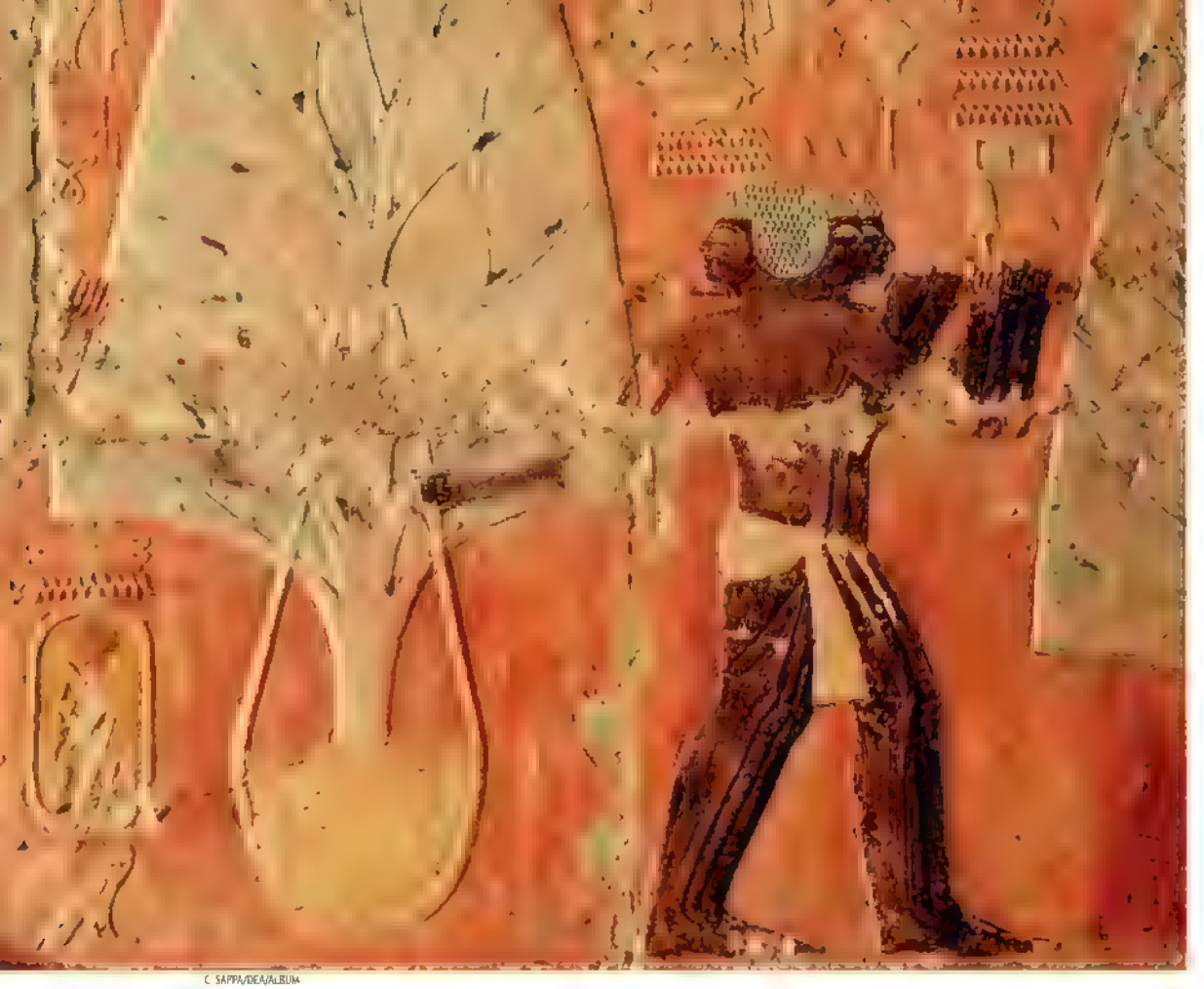
There were also lector priests *(hery heb)*, who read aloud the instructions for the ritual and magic spells as the dressings were applied. Meanwhile, the cutters removed the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines from the incision in the side of the corpse. Their social status was the lowest due to the impurity associated with the ritual.

Chief embalmers would often wear a mask of Anubis, to honor the god who mummified Osiris himself. The depiction of Anubis at his work is from the New Kingdom tomb of Sennedjem at Deir el Medina.

DEA/A. BALDIM

HOLY BABOON
During the Greek and Roman period, certain animals considered sacred to a particular divinity were also mummified. This baboon mummy in the catacombs of Tuna el Gebel near Amarna represents Thoth, the god of writing.

RICHARD BARNES/NES



© SAPPA/DEA/ALBUM

ANTHROPOID
Myrrh was used to anoint bodies during the mummification process. This relief, from Hatshepsut's temple in Deir el Bahri, shows a myrrh tree being transported

PROTECTED BY GOLD
By the first millennium B.C., mummifiers were covering the incisions made to remove internal organs with gold plates, such as the one found on the mummy of the 21st-dynasty pharaoh Psusennes I (below) Egyptian Museum, Cairo

WERNER FORMAN/ART ARCHIVE

A Drawn-Out Process

The embalmers performed their task during a long time phase between death and burial, which normally lasted over 70 days, although there are records of even longer periods. One account tells how the 4th-dynasty queen Meresankh III, wife of Pharaoh Khafre (the builder of the second of the great Pyramids at Giza), was not buried until 274 days after her death.

Writing in the fifth century B.C., the Greek historian Herodotus observed how when the mourning period had ended, the body was given to the embalmers and "whenever a corpse was conveyed to them, they showed those who brought it wooden models of corpses made like reality by painting." Once a price had been agreed upon, the embalmer's work would begin.

The first stage was carried out quite quickly, since decomposition occurred rapidly in the intense Egyptian heat. The purification ritual for the deceased took place over three days in a temporary structure called an *ibw*, where the body was washed. Once the body had been purified, it was taken to the *wabet* (pure place) or *per nefer* (house of beauty), where the actual mummification began.

According to Herodotus, the embalmers started their work by emptying the corpse's head. The ancient Egyptians did not see the brain as the center of reason and identity, so they made no effort to preserve it. A long hook was inserted up the nose into the cranium and swirled around to liquefy the brain, which would then be poured out into a bowl.

Next, the internal organs were removed through an incision, usually made in the left-hand side of the abdomen. But the heart, believed to be the center of wisdom, was deliberately left in place. Spells 27, 28, and 29 in the collection of mortuary texts known now as the Book of the Dead state the importance of keeping this organ connected to the body.

RECIPE FOR A MUMMY

MUMMIFICATION was a complex and expensive procedure, in part because it required so many products. Although Egyptologists have not been able to identify all of these with complete certainty, here are the top eight essential ingredients to making the perfect mummy.

Calcite ointment jar engraved with the name King Pepi I. 6th dynasty. Egyptian Museum, Berlin

1 NATRON AND OINTMENTS
Natron was the main ingredient used to dry out the dead body, but embalmers applied oils such as cedar, and perhaps juniper oil, to maintain the suppleness of the flesh.

2 RESIN
The importance of resin was mentioned in the Admonitions of Ipuwer, a text from the Old Kingdom: "None shall sail northward to Byblos today; what shall we do for cedar trees for our mummies?"

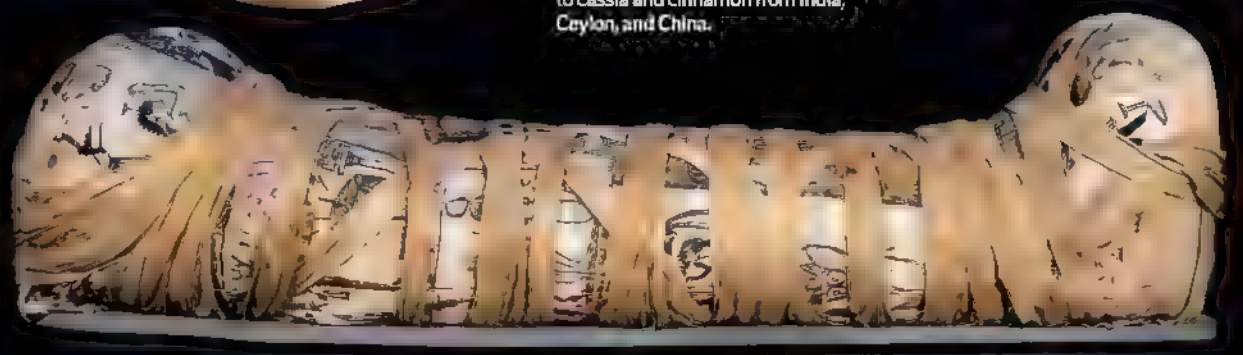
3 LICHEN AND ONIONS
Onions were sometimes used to fill the body's cavities, often serving as false eyes. Lichen has been found in the abdomens of Siptah and Ramses IV.

The face on the mummy of Queen Nodjmet, wife of Herihor, the high priest of Amun in Thebes. 21st dynasty. Egyptian Museum, Cairo

4 SAWDUST, STRAW, SAND, AND RAGS
All of these materials were used to fill the body's cavities during the 21st dynasty. Sawdust was also spread on the skin to aid the drying process.

5 SPICES
It has not been scientifically proven that spices were used in mummification. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus allude to cassia and cinnamon from India, Ceylon, and China.

Mummy of a woman named Cleopatra. Second century A.D. British Museum, London



Bag containing natron, the salts used to dry the body during mummification. British Museum, London

6 BEESWAX
Wax has sometimes been found sealing the mouth, nasal passages, and other cavities in mummies from the New Kingdom and the Late Period. Bees were valued for their magical properties.

7 INCENSE AND MYRRH
Myrrh from Somalia and the south of Arabia was used to fill and anoint the body, and its fragrance was highly valued. Incense was used to fumigate the body, and in funerary rites.

8 PALM WINE
According to Herodotus, palm wine was used to clean bodily cavities, but so far no archaeological evidence has been found for this practice.

Copies of hooks used during mummification to remove the brain through the nose. The Science Museum, London

TOP TO BOTTOM: BRIDGEMAN/ACI; DRONOZ/ALBUM; BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE; E. LESSING/ALBUM; SSPL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

SUMPTUOUS SARCOPHAGI

ONCE THE MUMMY WAS FINISHED, it was placed in a casket, which was in turn placed inside a larger sarcophagus. This page shows two Third Intermediate Period sarcophagi, both of which are in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The sarcophagus on the left was found at Deir el Bahri in 1891. It is dated to the 21st dynasty (1069-945 B.C.) and is believed to have belonged to a priest named Pakhar. It consists of an outer sarcophagus and an inner sarcophagus designed to look like the completely wrapped body from which the face and hands are protruding. The sarcophagus on the right dates back to the 22nd dynasty (945-715 B.C.). It belonged to Djedhorefankh, an altar supervisor at the temple of Amun-Re who lived around 930 B.C. during the reign of Sheshonq I. It was found in the Gurna necropolis in West Thebes, on the bank of the Nile opposite Luxor. The decoration inside shows various pictures of the deceased appearing before the gods, mummification scenes, and the solemn ritual known as the Opening of the Mouth.

PHOTOS: AKG-IMAGES

A PRIEST CARRY NG OUT THE CEREMONY OF THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH. THE DECEASED'S CASKET HAS BEEN PLACED UPRIGHT BEFORE THE TOMB.

H. M. HERGET/NGS

The Dead Go Home

ONCE MUMMIFICATION was comp ete, the deceased wo.ld be carr ed to h s or her fi na rest ng place. A arge procession set out from the home. Servants and relat ves car ried offerings of food, f owers, and furniture. The chest bear ng canopic jars conta ning the dead person's interna organs was car ried on one sled and a casket containing the mummy was pu led on another

AFTER REACHING the tomb, the procession was rece ved by *mut* dancers, hired to perform at funera s. The casket was placed upright before the tomb by a priest wear ng the mask of Anub s. Before the bur a began, a funerary priest addressed the corpse, as part of the so emn ritual known as the Open ng of the Mouth. "Your mouth now works, I have opened your mouth for yo., I have opened your eyes for yo.."

SACRED TOOLS SACRED RITUALS

Be ow, an offering consisting of min.ature copies of tools used in the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. Louvre Museum, Paris

BRIDGEMAN/M

Dehydration was essential to the embalming process. The material used was solid-state natron, a hydrated sodium carbonate often found near salt lakes. Immersed in this mixture for a period of 40 days, the body's cavities filled with the substance and dried out from the inside. In an experiment performed on a corpse in 1994, Egyptologist Bob Brier and Dr. Ronald Wade found that 580 pounds of natron were needed to entirely cover and dry a body.

Various oils and liquid resin were later rubbed into the flesh. This may have helped prevent or delay insect predation and mask the odors of decomposition. The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus visited Egypt in the first century B.C. and observed the mummification process: "They carefully dress the whole body for over 30 days, first with cedar oil and certain other preparations, and then with myrrh, cinnamon, and such spices as have the faculty not only of preserving it for a long time but also of giving it a fragrant odor."

Wrapping Things Up

The key trait of the mummy is its linen wrappings, often the last step of mummification. This final procedure was carried out with great solemnity, the wrappers taking many days to entirely envelop the body. The amount of fabric used varied from one mummy to another and, in the case of less well-off clients, belonged to the deceased in their lifetimes. Every single action was defined in minute detail and accompanied by the appropriate spell. Amulets of various kinds were placed inside the folds of the linen to provide greater protection, as well as papyri with magic spells.

If the deceased was a member of the elite, the mummy was covered with a mask and placed in a sumptuous casket, which was in turn placed inside a sarcophagus. A funerary procession carried the sarcophagus to the tomb, the "house of eternity," where the body of the deceased, now properly fitted out for the rigors of the afterlife, could rejoin the elements of its soul and be born again.

EGYPTOLOGIST **MILAGROS ÁLVAREZ SOSA** PARTICIPATED IN THE EXCAVATION OF AN 18TH-DYNASTY TOMB AT THEBES IN 2014

THE CAVE OF STOLEN MUMMIES

IN THE EARLY 1880S, officials in Luxor suspected that mummies were being sold illegally, and following an investigation, they stumbled on a cache that shocked Egyptologists. In 1881, tipped off by a local dealer, the German archaeologist Emil Brugsch entered a cave set into a cliff face near Deir el Bahri. By the light of his candle he found the "many famous personages of whom we never expected to know more than their names," including the remains of two of the most powerful New Kingdom pharaohs: Ramses II and Thutmose III, whose mummy was badly damaged by grave robbers. The mummies were later taken to Cairo where they were unwrapped before onlookers by Brugsch and other Egyptologists. The two great kings now rest in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

TOP: PETER HARRINGTON/BRIDGEMAN/ACI. BOTTOM: © LOUIS MAZZANENTI

THE MAKING OF A MUMMY

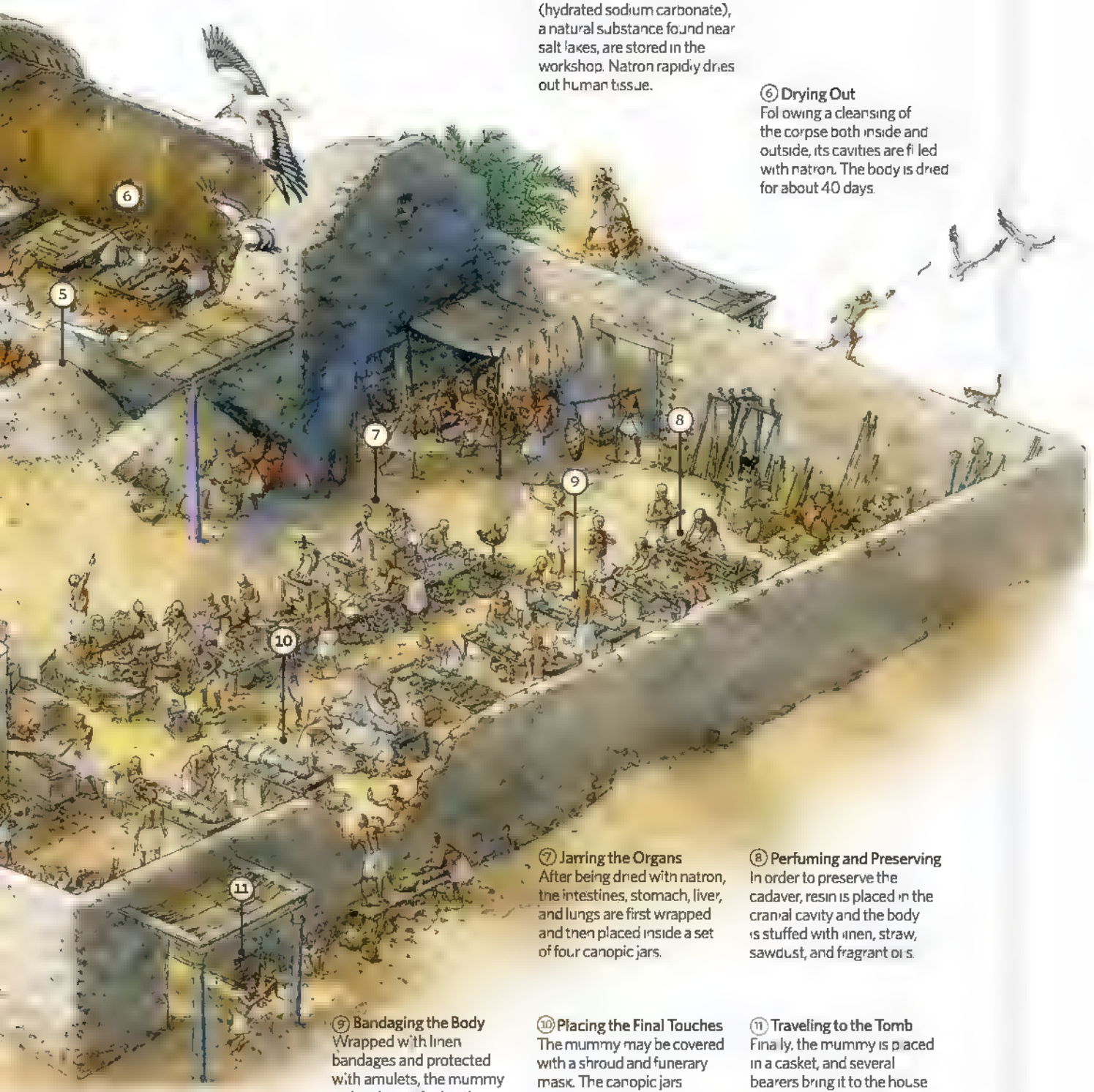
When a person died in ancient Egypt, the body was taken to a workshop where a multi-step process would slowly transform it from corpse to mummy—a transition that could last as long as 70 days.

① The Body Arrives
After mourning, the body is taken to one of the mummy workshops, which arose in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom (ca 1938 B.C.).

② Meeting the Priests
The priests greet the dead person's relatives to help them select the appropriate type of preservation for their loved one.

③ Washing the Body
The body is undressed and washed, sometimes by priests or even by the dead person's relatives themselves.

④ Preparing the Remains
Next is the *wabet* ("pure place"), where mummification begins. The brain is discarded, and the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines are removed.



⑤ Storing the Natron
Large quantities of natron (hydrated sodium carbonate), a natural substance found near salt lakes, are stored in the workshop. Natron rapidly dries out human tissue.

⑥ Drying Out
Following a cleansing of the corpse both inside and outside, its cavities are filled with natron. The body is dried for about 40 days.

⑦ Jarring the Organs
After being dried with natron, the intestines, stomach, liver, and lungs are first wrapped and then placed inside a set of four canopic jars.

⑧ Perfuming and Preserving
In order to preserve the cadaver, resin is placed in the cranial cavity and the body is stuffed with linen, straw, sawdust, and fragrant oils.

⑨ Bandaging the Body
Wrapped with linen bandages and protected with amulets, the mummy is then beautified with cosmetic treatments.

⑩ Placing the Final Touches
The mummy may be covered with a shroud and funerary mask. The canopic jars containing the dead person's organs are placed in a chest.

⑪ Traveling to the Tomb
Finally, the mummy is placed in a casket, and several bearers bring it to the house of the deceased's relatives. It rests here until burial.

DK IMAGES

SALVAGED OR STOLEN?

THE ELGIN

In 1801 an English nobleman stripped the Parthenon of many of its sculptures.

JUAN PABLO SÁNCHEZ

MARBLES

Controversy over their acquisition by the British Museum continues to [illegible]

DETAIL FROM THE WESTERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON, BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON
IOSSE/SCALA, FLORENCE

During the 1700s, a European Grand Tour was a rite of passage for the sons of wealthy families. Lasting for up to three years, and taking in Switzerland, Paris, and Rome, the high point of this secular pilgrimage for most travelers was Greece. On arriving in Athens, the first sight these young tourists would look for was the Acropolis and its crowning glory: the pillared Parthenon, dedicated to the warrior goddess Athena.

Yet even as the Grand Tour became increasingly popular, laying the foundations for modern tourism, this great monument, studded with the work of the great Athenian sculptor Phidias, was at risk of disappearing entirely. Since the 15th century, Greece had been ruled by the Ottoman Empire, whose troops had converted the Acropolis into a garrison, and whose sultan, Mehmed II, had turned the Parthenon itself into a mosque, complete with a minaret.

In 1687, during a war fought between Venice and the Ottomans, the great monument was used by the Ottomans to store gunpowder. Exposed on the Acropolis, the Parthenon was a highly vulnerable target, and in September that year, a deadly blow fell: A Venetian mortar struck it, causing a colossal explosion that destroyed its roof, leaving only the pediments standing. Later, the Venetian admiral Francesco Morosini tried to remove sculptures in order to take them back to Venice. The pulley he was using broke, and the figures, including a large Poseidon, was smashed to pieces.

Morosini withdrew from Athens with the dubious of honor of having caused more damage to the Parthenon in just one year than it had suffered in the two millennia since Socrates and Pericles had watched its slow rise over Athens at the end of the fifth century B.C.

Parthenon in Peril

By the middle of the 18th century yet more of the ruined Parthenon's decoration had been plundered. The site's precariousness only encouraged travelers to carry off items, as many believed it would be razed to the ground before long anyway. "It is to be regretted that so much admirable sculpture as is still extant about this fabric should be all likely to perish . . . from ignorant contempt and brutal violence" warned Richard Chandler, an English antiquarian, in 1770. A few years later, the Irish painter Edward Dodwell reported that huge quantities of marble from the Parthenon had been broken up in order to build cabins for a garrison. On hearing about the situation, many western travelers and collectors sought to acquire treasures pillaged from the Parthenon on the local black market in an attempt to "save" them from destruction.

Some collectors claimed this was perfectly legal, as they removed items with the connivance of the Ottoman authorities. Many collections of Parthenon statuary housed in the world's museums today were acquired in this way. The most famous and significant was brought to London beginning in 1803 by the former British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, the nobleman Thomas Bruce—more commonly known as Lord Elgin.

RESTORING
PRIDE

1. TAKING THE MARBLES

THOMAS BRUCE, seventh Earl of Elgin and 11th Earl of Kincardine, was an aristocrat with a promising political career. During the first years of the war with revolutionary France, he held various diplomatic posts in Vienna, Brussels, and Berlin. He returned to his native Scotland in 1796, where he built a splendid country mansion at Broomhall. The architect behind the project was Thomas Harrison, who shared his client's passion for Greek sculpture and architecture. In 1799 Lord Elgin's diplomatic services were again required this time as ambassador to the Ottoman sultan Selim III, who was keen to foster allies from Europe who would help him boost his defenses against Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, then under indirect Ottoman rule. Having married hastily in September 1799, Elgin set sail from Portsmouth with his new wife, the heiress Mary Nisbet, bound for Constantinople (now Istanbul). Before Elgin left, Harrison urged him to use his privileged position to get hold of drawings and copies of Greece's great monuments. Lord Elgin agreed and enlisted a team of artists directed by the painter Giovanni Battista Lusieri.

THOMAS BRUCE, SEVENTH EARL OF ELGIN, PORTRAIT BY ANTON GRAFF, 1788

ARCHIVALBUM

ON THEIR ARRIVAL, Lord and Lady Elgin were lavishly received by the sultan. While his wife organized sumptuous parties, Lord Elgin sent Lusieri and his team to Athens to sketch ancient works of art, as requested by Harrison. Lusieri was given free rein to carry out his work—except when it came to the Acropolis. In order to gain access to the monument, the Ottomans demanded large daily payments, and they refused to let the painter set up a single piece of scaffolding. Lusieri then asked Lord Elgin to request a *firman*, a special permission from the sultan himself.

ON JULY 6, 1801, LORD ELGIN received authorization, not only to survey and take casts of the sculptures but also to remove whatever pieces were of interest to him—or at least that's how Elgin interpreted this now controversial passage from the sultan: "When they wish to take away some pieces of stone with old inscriptions and figures, no opposition be made." Having won the favor of the governor of Athens, Lusieri and his men dismantled a large part of the frieze from the Parthenon as well as numerous capitals and metopes. Finally in 1803, the huge collection of marbles was packed up into about two hundred boxes, which were then loaded onto wagons and transported to the port of Piraeus to await their passage to England.

REMOVAL OF MARBLES FROM THE PARTHENON IN 1801. WATERCOLOR BY EDWARD DODWELL. PACKARD HUMANITIES INSTITUTE, CALIFORNIA

PACKARD HUMANITIES INSTITUTE

The first on the list are the metopes, the bas-reliefs, and the remains of the statues that can still be found. In particular the figures on the pediment of the Parthenon—at least the figure of the man—as many metopes as you can obtain.

LORD ELGIN TO LUSIERI
1801

BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Did Elgin Have Permission to Take the Marbles?

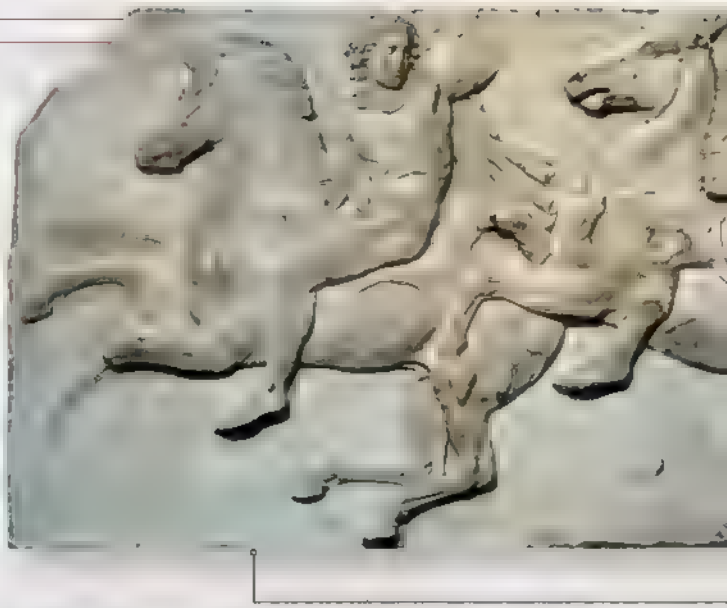
ANY ANSWER TO this question, one which has bedeviled British-Greek relations for years, is based on interpretation of the document at the heart of the affair: the *firman*, the decree issued by Sultan Selim III to Elgin, which was used as a justification to take the marbles. Despite the ambiguity of the language in the firman, the landmark 1967 study by British historian William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, concludes that the sultan did not allow the removal and export of statues and reliefs from the Parthenon. A clause authorizing the British to take stones "with old inscriptions and figures" probably referred to items found in the excavations conducted on the site, not artworks adorning the temples. Later, Elgin and his associates would recognize before the parliamentary committee that this act was probably illegal, but they justified it as a way to save the pieces from the damage and looting to which they had been subjected under Ottoman rule.

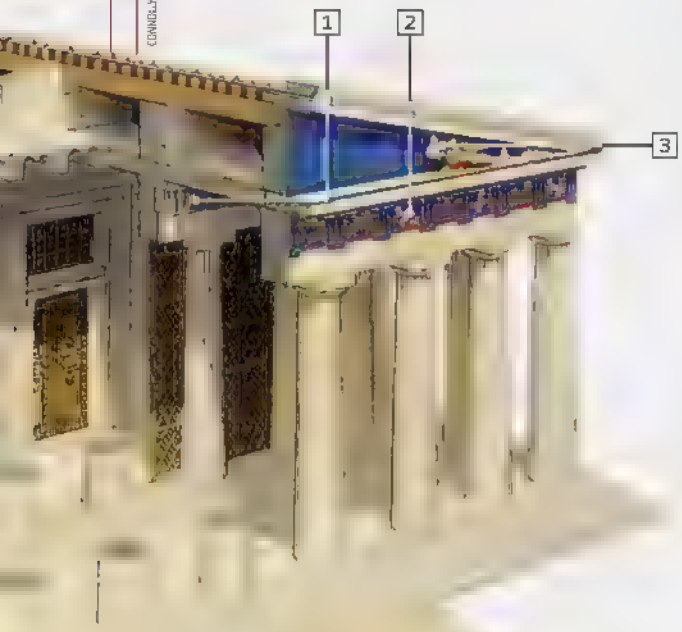
▲ ***Romancing the Stones***
Elgin's workmen removed a total of 15 metopes from the Parthenon. They also took 247 feet—just under half—of the total frieze, as well as removing one of the caryatids (female sculptures) from the nearby portico of the Erechtheion, and four fragments from the frieze of the temple to Athena Nike.

WATERCOLOR BY IPPOLITO CAFFI, 1863. GALLERIA INTERNAZIONALE D'ARTE MODERNA, CA' PESARO, VENICE ▼

STORIES IN STONE

Defenders of Lord Elgin argue that the removal of the marbles ensured their preservation. His critics point out that British attitudes to conservation were not always historically sensitive. For many centuries the marbles had been covered with a dark patina, the remains of the decoration applied in antiquity. The current appearance of the sculptures owes much to the highly controversial restoration carried out in the 1930s, in which aggressive cleaning methods overwhitened the pieces and even altered their surfaces.





3 Pediments
The Parthenon's two pediments once held complex sculptural groupings. The western pediment re-creates the mythical struggle between the goddess Athena and the god Poseidon for patronage of Athens. The eastern pediment, a fragment of which is shown here, depicts the birth of Athena from Zeus's head

Helios, the sun god, holds the reins of his chariot, which is pulled by a pair of horses.

CORBIS/AGE/ALBUM

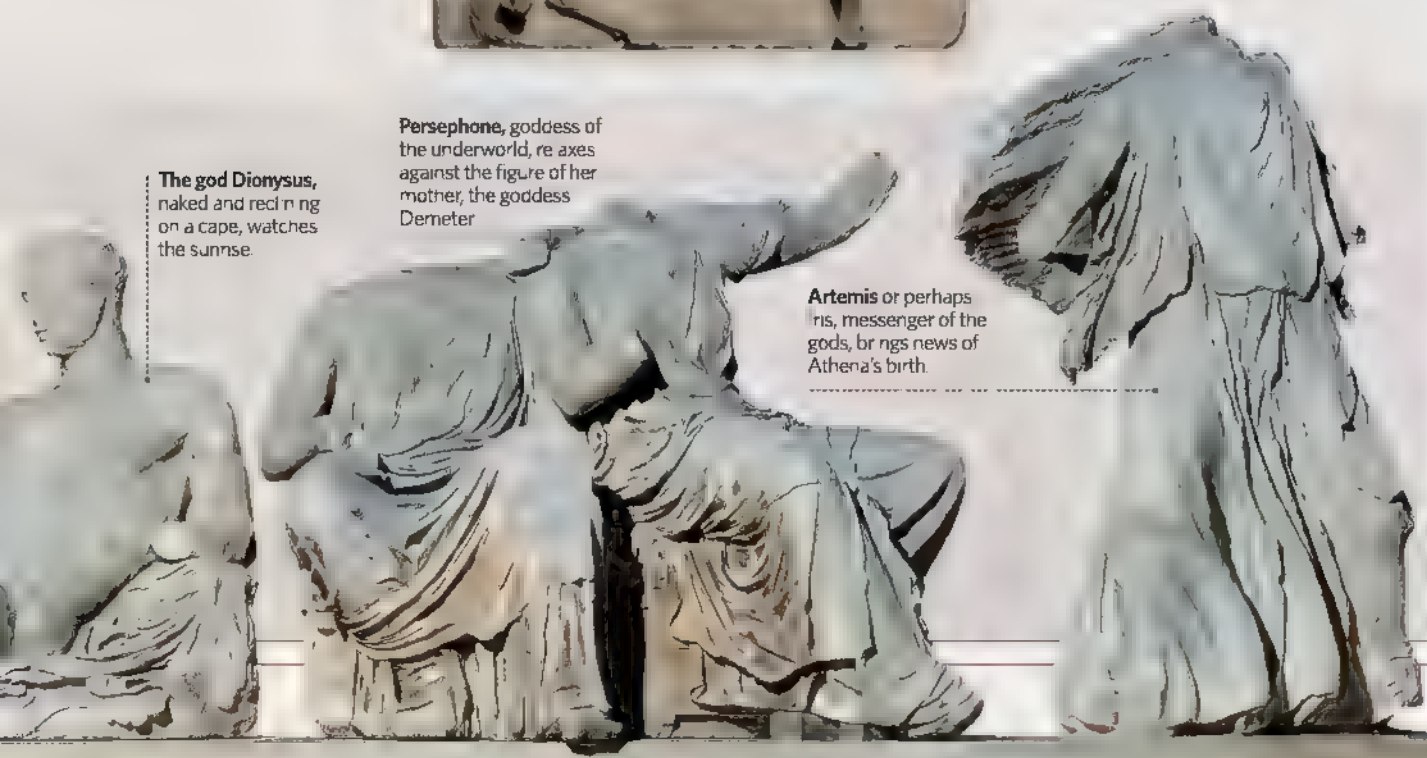
PHOTOS: SUAL © FLORENCE

2 Metopes

A key characteristic of a temple in the Doric style is the inclusion of metopes (plaques bearing reliefs) alternating with triglyphs (fluted rectangular panels). The metopes on the Parthenon depict mythical scenes such as the struggle against the Amazons, the Trojan war, and combat between lapiths and centaurs, as shown here.

1 Frieze

The interior decorative frieze was partly hidden and ran around the whole temple. It was 520 feet long and made up of bas-reliefs representing one of the most important religious festivals in Athens, the Panathenaia, in honor of Athena, the city's patron goddess. It is one of the best conserved parts of the temple.



The god Dionysus, naked and reclining on a cape, watches the sunrise.

Persephone, goddess of the underworld, recoils against the figure of her mother, the goddess Demeter.

Artemis or perhaps Iris, messenger of the gods, brings news of Athena's birth.

BRITISH MUSEUM/SEAA, FLORENCE

2. THE MARBLES GO TO LONDON

TRANSPORTING THE MARBLES to the United Kingdom was beset with problems from the outset. One of the ships was wrecked near the island of Kýthira, where the cargo of treasures lay on the seafloor for two years before being retrieved. Hostilities with France, and the possibility of the hoard falling into French hands, led Elgin to request that a British warship docked in the port of Piraeus near Athens take the heaviest sculptures from the Parthenon pediments. Elgin had managed to keep the marbles from the French, but the same could not be said about his own person: Crossing France on his homeward journey to London, he was imprisoned and remained in custody in Pau near the Spanish border for three years until 1806. Once back in London, he began new negotiations to get the Ottoman government to authorize the second shipment of statuary, which left Piraeus in 1809

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

HAVING BROUGHT THE STATUES and reliefs to England, Lord Elgin proposed putting them on public display – a noble idea that was undermined by his intention to "restore" the statues. Elgin hoped to re-create the missing sections of each piece. To carry this out, he put forward the name of the most important neoclassical sculptor of the time, Antonio Canova. Canova, a Venetian, refused to touch the treasures, protesting: "It would be a sacrilege for any man to touch them with a chisel." From 1807, Elgin exhibited the marbles that had arrived in Britain in a house that he leased in Park Lane, near Piccadilly in London. The display was a sensation, attracting a huge number of artists and academics.

THE COSTS OF shipping the marbles were paid out of Lord Elgin's own pocket. He calculated he had spent a total of £74,000 in expenses and bribes – more than a million dollars in today's money. Despite his title, Elgin was not a very rich man, especially after 1808 when he faced a ruinous divorce settlement. Feeling the pinch, he put pressure on the British government to buy the collection. In 1812 he deposited the marbles in the home of the Duke of Devonshire and mobilized his contacts to talk up the value of the pieces and warn against the danger of them falling into foreign hands. In 1816 Parliament created a commission to assess Elgin's offer, a decision that caused a huge stir in the press. The country was divided among those who considered they should be bought for the nation, those who considered them a waste of money, and those like the poet Byron who excoriated Elgin for taking them in the first place.

CARYATID FROM THE ERECHTHEION, ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS, TAKEN TO ENGLAND BY LORD ELGIN IN 1806. THE REMAINING FIVE CARYATIDS, WHICH SUPPORTED THE PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE, ARE HELD IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM OF ATHENS.

LOSING THEIR MARBLES

❶ Here's a bargain for you, Johnny? Only £35,000!! I have bought them on purpose for you. Never think of **Bread** when you can have **Stones** so wondrous cheap!!

❷ I don't think somehow that these here **Stones** are perfect. And had rather not buy them at present. Trade is very Bad and provision very Dear and my Family can't **Eat Stones!** Besides, they say it will cost £40,000 to build a place to put them in—As the Turks gave them to our Ambassador in his Official capacity for little or nothing & solely out of **compliment** to the British Nation—I think he should not charge such an Enormous price for **Packing & Carriage.**

❸ Don't buy them, Daddy! We don't want them **Stones.** Give us **Bread!** give us **Bread!** Give us **Bread!**

❹ Let him take his **Stones** back again to the Turks. We don't want them in this Country!

The Elgin Mo

The Finest Things on Earth!

Like many other artists, Benjamin R. Haydon was ecstatic when, in 1807, he saw the Parthenon marbles: "They would prove themselves the finest things on earth. I shall never forget the horses' heads . . . I felt as if a divine truth had blazed inwardly on my mind, and I knew they would at last rouse the art of Europe from its dark slumber"

STUDY BY BENJAMIN R. HAYDON (1809) OF THE HEAD OF A HORSE SCULPTED BY PHIDIAS (FIFTH CENTURY B.C.). FROM THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

▶ **TOP:** GRANGER/ALBUM; COLOR: SANTI PÉREZ **LEFT TO RIGHT:** BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE; BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE; BRIDGEMAN/AL

rbles! or John Bull buying Stones at the time his numerous family want Bread

The Price Is Right?

Negotiations for the sale of the Parthenon sculptures to the British crown unleashed a blazing controversy about the artistic value of the pieces. Should they be bought with public money? And was it even legal to take them out of Greece in the first place?

How Much?!

The 1816 cartoon by George Cruikshank shows Lord Elgin trying to sell the sculptures to "John Bull," embodying the sober Englishman who thinks that the money needed would be better used to serve the needs of his family

Second Rate!

The parliamentary committee charged with valuing the Elgin marbles asked the opinion of classical expert Richard Payne Knight, who answered: "Your marbles are overrated: They are not Greek: they are Roman of the time of Hadrian." This view has since been overturned by scholars.

Theft!

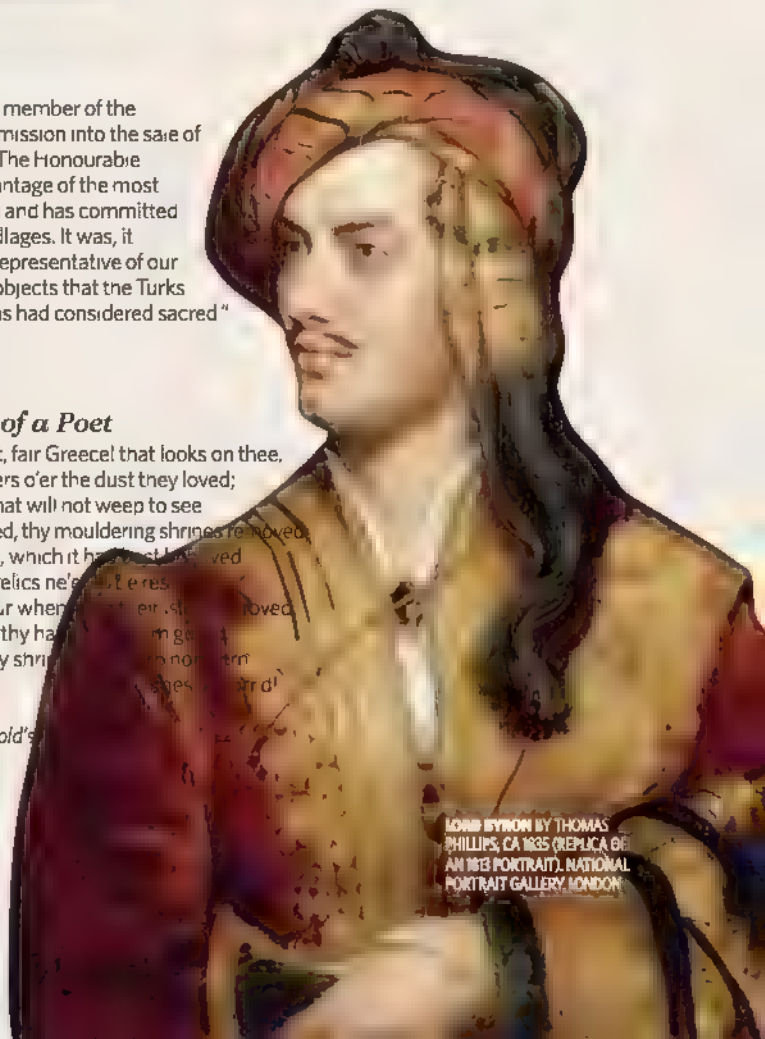
Sir John Newport, a member of the parliamentary commission into the sale of the marbles, said: "The Honourable Lord has taken advantage of the most unjustifiable means and has committed the most flagrant pillages. It was, it seems, fatal that a representative of our country loot those objects that the Turks and other barbarians had considered sacred."

A BULL LED TO SACRIFICE, SCULPTED BY PHIDIAS (FIFTH CENTURY B.C.). FRAGMENT OF THE SOUTHERN FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

The Wrath of a Poet

Cold is the heart, fair Greece! that looks on thee,
Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they loved;
Dull is the eye that will not weep to see
Thy walls defaced, thy mouldering shrines removed
By British hands, which it had best have loved
To guard those relics ne'er to touch or tear.
Curst be the hour when [illegible] removed
And once again thy hapless [illegible]
And snatch'd thy shrine [illegible]

From *Childe Harold's* [illegible]
by Lord Byron



LORD BYRON BY THOMAS PHILLIPS, CA 1835 (REPLICA OF AN 1813 PORTRAIT). NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

THE MUSEUM'S COLLECTION

3. HOLDING ON TO THEIR MARBLES

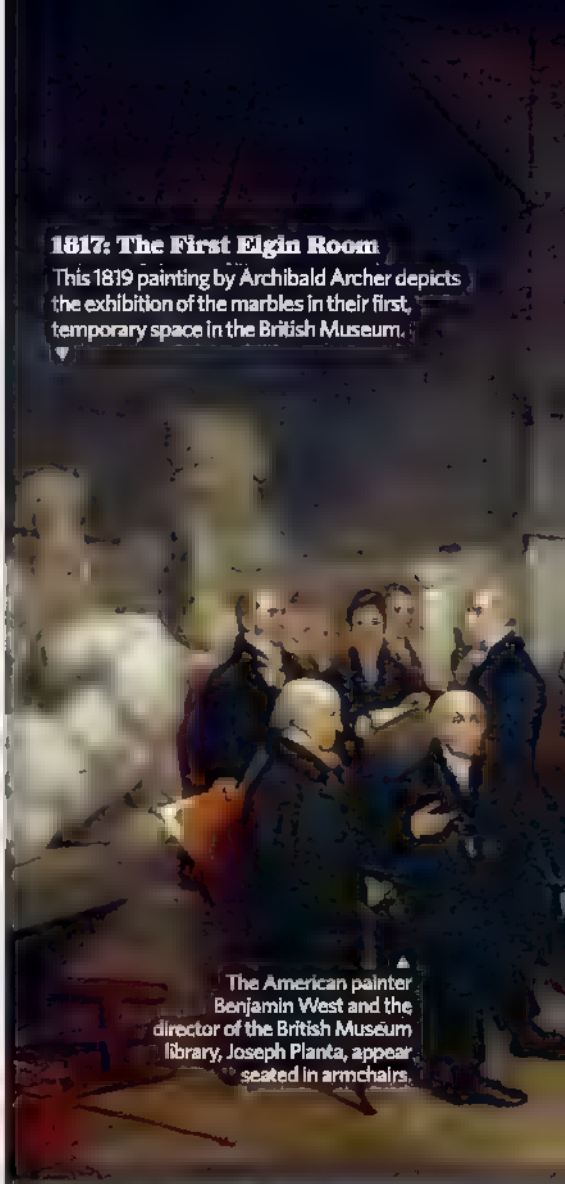
IN 1816 THE COMMISSION finally fixed the price of the marbles at £35,000 (approximately $500,000 in today's money)—less than half Elgin's asking price. Parliament approved the sale by a very tight margin: 82 votes in favor and 80 against. Lord Elgin, a staunch patriot, had turned down lucrative offers from other governments for the treasures, and argued all along that the marbles would add luster to Britain's imperial image. Taking the long view, he was justified in anticipating the sense of national pride Britain would feel for the marbles, and in time it became commonly accepted that the nation had purchased them for a song. One of the greatest artworks in human history was now housed in the middle of London, a vital propaganda tool in projecting the image of the British Empire as civilized and benign.

AFTER SPENDING several years in a temporary facility, the marbles were moved to the Elgin Room in the British Museum in 1832. As the exhibition had an educational purpose, providing models for artists, the original pieces were displayed together with molds of the missing fragments. The originals, in fact, made up only around 60 percent of the whole display. In the 1930s work began on a new room that would display only the originals, whose surface texture and color had been altered due to a rigorous (but poorly supervised) cleaning in preparation for display. The Duveen Gallery, named after the businessman who financed it, was completed in 1938 but installation of the marbles was halted by World War II. During the Nazi raids on London, the marbles were put into storage, and the Duveen Gallery itself suffered serious bomb damage. The space was restored and finally opened to the public in 1962.

THE ELGIN GLOBET, MADE FROM ENGRAVED CRYSTAL, SHOWS A SCENE FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE. JOHN NORTHWOOD. 1873. MUSEUM OF BIRMINGHAM. DEA/ALBUM

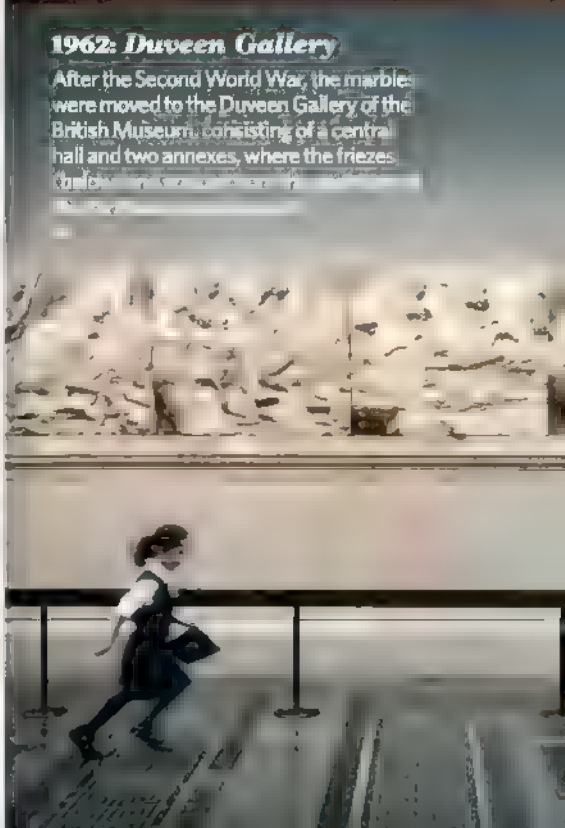
SINCE REGAINING independence in 1832, successive Greek governments have petitioned for the return of the Parthenon marbles. During her service as the Greek minister of culture between 1981 and 1989, the actress Melina Mercouri reenergized the repatriation campaign. The new Acropolis Museum of Athens, which opened in 2009, includes a specially designed space to house the marbles for the day—fervently awaited by many Greeks—they are reunited with other treasures from the Parthenon and the Acropolis. Not surprisingly, the British Museum has so far refused all requests to give up one of its most popular exhibits. The Parthenon marbles have become the most visible, and notorious, collection of Acropolis artifacts still housed in museums across Europe, often with the justification that such objects are emblematic of European civilization as a whole, not just of Greek heritage.

Classicist ***Juan Pablo Sánchez*** has translated works of classical literature, such as Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*



1817: The First Elgin Room
This 1819 painting by Archibald Archer depicts the exhibition of the marbles in their first, temporary space in the British Museum.

The American painter Benjamin West and the director of the British Museum library, Joseph Planta, appear seated in armchairs.



1962: *Duveen Gallery*
After the Second World War, the marbles were moved to the Duveen Gallery of the British Museum, consisting of a central hall and two annexes, where the friezes

▶ **1817:** BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE **1832:** BRIDGEMAN/ACI **1962:** CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES **ATHENS VIEW:** PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

1832: The Elgin Room ▸
A space in the west wing of the British Museum was specially adapted to house the treasures.

A metope

Running frieze

Statue by Dionysus from the eastern pediment

The artist, Archibald Archer, included himself, sketching.

THE PENNY MAGAZINE
OF THE
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

38.] PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY [NOVEMBER 3, 1832.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.—No. 1

An Artist's Delight

An edition of the *Penny Magazine* from November 3, 1832, reports on the inauguration of the Elgin Room at the British Museum. Mingling with spectators in the illustration, local artists are shown sketching the Parthenon friezes and sculptures, by then regarded as among the greatest artistic works of humankind, and the embodiment of ideal classical beauty from the ancient world.

Going Home?
To give more weight to their claim on the marbles, Greece opened the new Acropolis Museum of Athens in 2009. A huge space on the top floor, currently displaying copies of the Parthenon marbles, awaits the return of the originals.

THE POINT OF NO RETURN

CAESAR'S CROSSING

In 49 B.C. on the banks of the Rubicon, Julius Caesar faced a critical choice. To remain in Gaul meant forfeiting his power to his enemies in Rome. Crossing the river into Italy would be a declaration of war. Caesar chose war.

FERNANDO LILLO REDONET

CONQUERING HERO
A bust from the National Archaeological Museum in Naples depicts Julius Caesar, whose popularity skyrocketed

ROMAN BANK HEIST
Rome's treasury was housed in the Temple of Saturn at the Forum (above), it was sacked by Caesar in 49 B.C. to pay for his wars against Pompey

ALESSANDRO SAFFO/FOTOTECA 9X12

On January 10, 49 B.C., on the banks of the Rubicon River in southern Gaul (near the modern-day city of Ravenna), Julius Caesar and the soldiers of the 13th Legion waited and weighed their options.

The Rubicon is, in reality, little more than a stream. Its significance to Rome lay in its location, marking the official border between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul, the region south of the Alps governed by Julius Caesar. Despite its appearance, crossing this humble river would have serious consequences. According to the law of the Roman Republic, any provincial governor leading troops across the border back into Italy would be declared a public enemy. It was, quite simply, an act of war.

Huddled against the biting cold, many of the soldiers of the 13th Legion of the army of the Roman Republic had served under Caesar for much of the previous decade. They had witnessed the honing of his skills as a military and political strategist, subjugating Gaul (corresponding to much of modern-day France and northern Italy), extending the bounds of the Roman Republic as far as the Rhine, and all the time shoring up his influence back in Rome. Alarmed by his growing power, the Senate ordered Caesar to set aside his command.

Caesar had no intention of obeying the Senate, and he knew perfectly well what the consequences of his insubordination would be. He understood that civil war would most likely ensue between himself and the Roman nobility,

58-50 B.C. | 50 B.C. | JANUARY 10-11, 49 B.C.

HAIL CAESAR!

Roman proconsul Julius Caesar conducts a series of military campaigns to conquer Gaul, boosting his political career and bringing him the wealth to pay off his debts

Following his victories in Gaul, Julius Caesar attempts to return to Rome, but his former ally Pompey and his enemies in the Senate instead order him to lay down his command

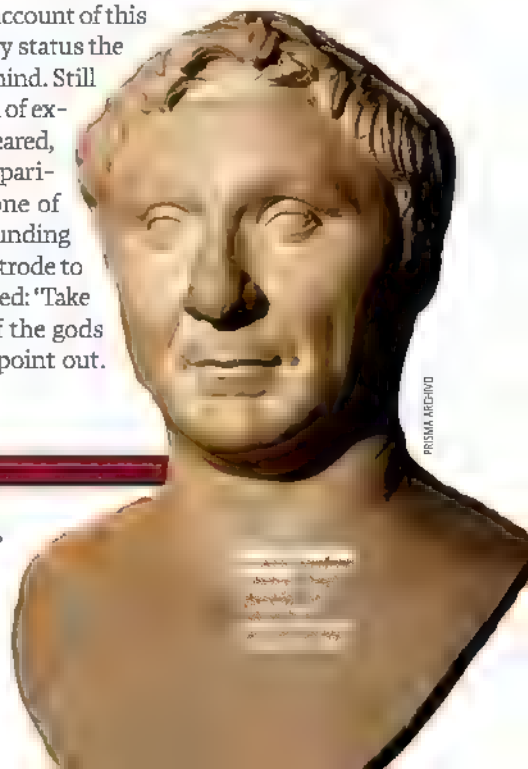
Faced with the intransigence of the Senate, Caesar and the 13th Legion cross the Rubicon, the official border between Gaul and Italy, a decision that will lead to civil war

led by his strongest rival and former ally: the brilliant military commander Pompey the Great. If Caesar chose to cross the Rubicon, there would be no turning back.

Down to the River

The day before the crossing, Caesar acted as if nothing unusual was happening. The conqueror of Gaul attended a public event in Ravenna and carefully examined plans for a gladiator school. Secretly, he had ordered his cohorts to proceed to the banks of the river and wait for him there. Later, during dinner that night, he told his guests he would have to leave them for a moment. A chariot pulled by mules from a nearby bakery was waiting for him outside, and after a considerable delay in finding the exact position of his troops, he eventually managed to join them on the bank. Here he mulled the agonizing choice that lay before him.

Writing around a century and a half later, the historian Suetonius produced an account of this moment that reveals the legendary status the event had attained in the Roman mind. Still unsure whether to advance, a man of extraordinary height and beauty appeared, clearly sent by the gods. "The apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, rushed to the river, and sounding the war-note with mighty blast, strode to the opposite bank. Then Caesar cried: 'Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out. The die is cast.' "



PRISMA ARCHIVO

49 B.C.

As Caesar advances on Rome, Pompey and his allies retreat south, ultimately abandoning Italy for Greece. Caesar defeats Pompey's forces in Spain.

48 B.C.

Caesar pursues Pompey across the Adriatic and decisively defeats him at the Battle of Pharsalus in Greece. After the loss, Pompey flees to Egypt where he is assassinated.

46 B.C.

Caesar defeats Pompey's remaining followers at Thapsus in North Africa. Caesar becomes dictator of Rome.

DIVINE INTERVENTION

Suetonius tells of a miraculous event that occured as Caesar mulled over crossing the Rubicon, depicted in this 1494 painting by Francesco Granacci.

1 As Caesar debates whether to cross the Rubicon, an otherwordly figure appears, wearing a yellow tunic and playing a flute.

2 Caesar and his soldiers follow the figure. Caesar believes the gods are on his side, encouraging him to proceed into Italy.

3 The mysterious being snatches a trumpet from a Roman soldier and plays it as he crosses the river, followed by Caesar's army.

THE GAUL TO OPPOSE CAESAR

France's capital's name comes from the wealthy Parisii tribe, against whom Caesar fought in Gaul. The Parisii minted this second-century B.C. gold coin (below).

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

The Path to Power

Caesar was not the first person to openly violate the law of the republic. Social tensions created by the rapid expansion of Roman territory had plunged the political system into crisis for much of Caesar's life. During his youth, generals and politicians often exploited their military victories to take political control of the state.

Born around 100 B.C., Caesar's boyhood was marked by the Social Wars, a series of struggles in which Rome's Italian allies fought for the right to Roman citizenship and its privileges. In 81 B.C. Sulla was appointed dictator. Sulla defended the rights of Rome's increasingly discredited noble rulers against the populares, the Senate faction who represented the interests of non-noble citizens clamoring for reform.

Caesar's career was marked by this atmosphere of frenzied competition for power between nobles and populists. In 60 B.C. he allied with the general Pompey and another powerful politician, Marcus Licinius Crassus, so the three of them could dominate the republican system for their own benefit. The immediate result was Caesar's consulship in 59 B.C., during which he sidelined the Senate and passed various laws aimed at winning him popular support.

Stung by Caesar's affronts, the powerful aristocratic faction in the Senate—known as the optimates—were waiting to pounce on him when his consulship ended, when he would be left without official immunity and highly vulnerable to his enemies. Revealing his lifelong instinct for survival, however, Caesar cut a deal with Pompey and Crassus, enabling him to leave for Gaul to achieve the military glory that would, in turn, increase his grip on power.

Eight years later, at the beginning of the year 50 B.C., Caesar had subjugated Gaul, to the great benefit of the republic, which had won valuable territory to defend it against invasions. But the main beneficiary of the wars was undoubtedly Caesar himself. Awash with Gallic gold, he shrewdly targeted financially embarrassed senators who, in return for Caesar's "generosity" in paying off their debts, declared themselves

4 On reaching the other bank, Caesar (in a blue toga) inspires his soldiers with a speech before continuing their march.
6 Caesar leads his army to Rome, shown here surrounded by strong walls, to take what is his by force.
5 The plebeian tribunes supporting Caesar surround him, aware of the momentousness of the occasion, and plan their next movements.

VANDA IMAGES/PHOTODAISA

his unconditional allies. At the same time, he had at his back a trained, experienced, and fiercely loyal army. Caesar's combination of wealth and military clout struck fear and loathing into the hearts of senators back in Rome—not least his erstwhile ally, Pompey, who since Crassus's death had been moving politically closer to the aristocratic optimates.

After the fighting was ended in Gaul, Caesar was obliged to stand down from his position as governor, disband his army, and so lose the immunity his official position had given him. Pompey and his new optimate allies hatched a plan to seize the moment to take Caesar to court. By accusing him of corruption and abuses of power during his time in Gaul, they hoped to bring his political career to an end.

But Caesar stood his ground in March 50 B.C. He would not stand down as governor of Gaul, as stipulated, but would instead stay on until the end of 49 B.C., proposing that in the summer of that year, he would stand for election to become consul for a second time.

Faced with such obstinacy, his enemies in Rome scrambled to increase the pressure on the rogue governor. They reiterated to the Senate that since the military campaign was over, Caesar must disband his army, and a new governor of Gaul be elected to replace him.

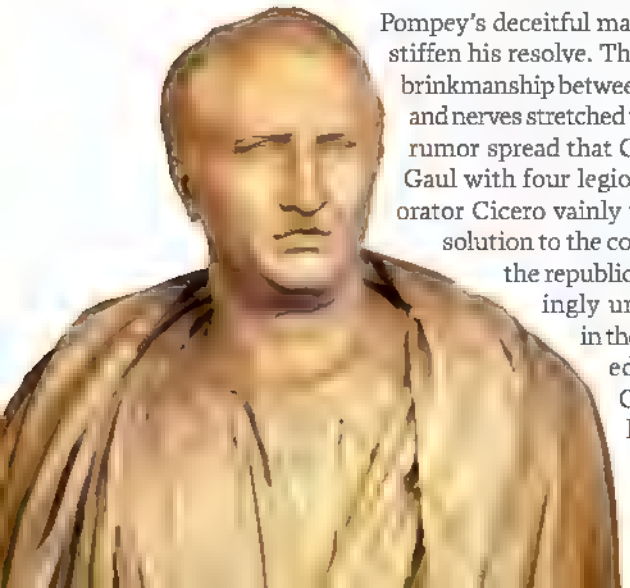
The hostile atmosphere in the Senate convinced Caesar that he needed to defend himself militarily and politically. He moved some of his troops into the north of Italy, at the same time extending his influence in the corridors of power. Bribery continued to be the most effective tool. In a particularly spectacular coup, he even managed to buy off the consul Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus for a colossal down payment of some nine million denarii. In return, the consul promised not to support any initiatives against him during his remaining term of office.

Pompey Versus Caesar

The deadline for Caesar to lay down his command, March 50 B.C., came and went. An emergency briefly offered a way out of the stalemate: The Parthians were threatening Rome's eastern borders and the Senate was asked to send two legions to defend the province of Syria. Pompey declared that he would send one if Caesar sent another.

Pisaurum (Pesaro)
Arminium (Rimini)
Fanum Fortunae (Fano)
Ancona
ADRIATIC SEA
Rubicon
Cingulum (Cingoli)
Asculum (Ascoli Piceno)
Corfinium (Corfinio)
ROME
INVASION OF ITALY (49 B.C.)
Route of Caesar
Route of Pompey
Detours made by Caesar's troops
1 After crossing the Rubicon into the Roman Republic near Ravenna in early January, Caesar marches his forces south to Arminium. Pompey and his allies abandon Rome for Capua.
2 Caesar sends the tribune Mark Antony with five cohorts of the 13th Legion to occupy Arretium. He sends another three cohorts to the coastal cities of Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae, and Ancona.
3 Caesar advances south, easily taking the cities of Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. Some of his troops are dispatched west to the city of Iguvium; these forces easily take the city.
4 Cingulum opens its gates to Caesar's troops without any bloodshed. Pompey's garrison at Asculum leaves their post before the arrival of Caesar's forces as they move down the coastline.

THE GREAT ORATOR
A bust from the Capitoline Museums in Rome depicts Cicero, an ally of Pompey, who later developed a cordial relationship with Caesar
PRISMA ARCHIVO



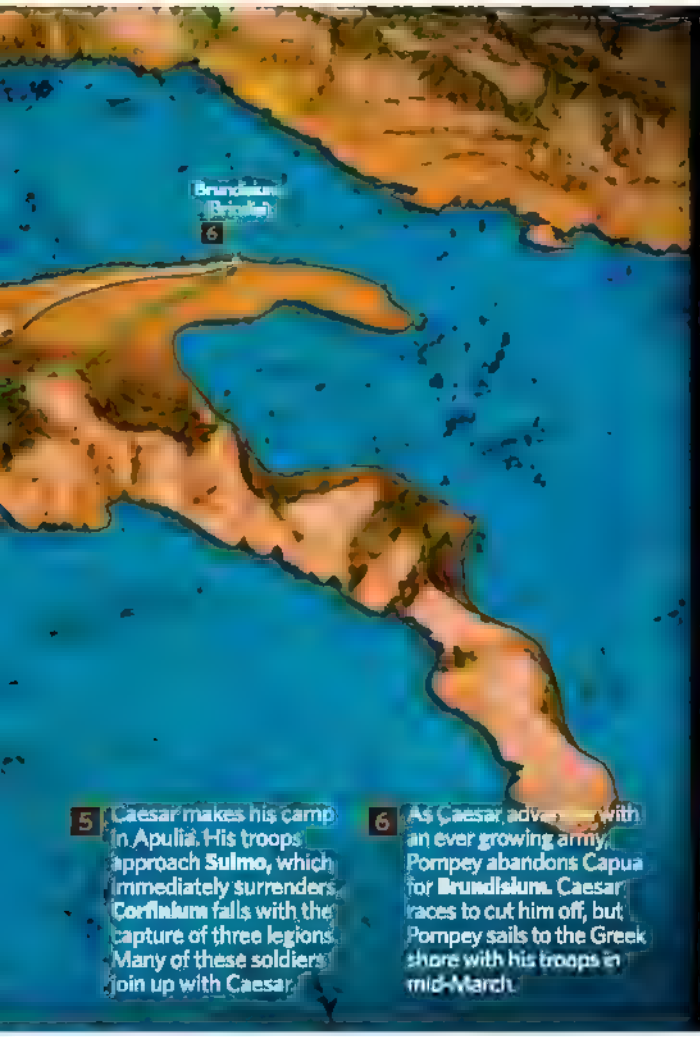
Caesar surprisingly accepted, perhaps to demonstrate a willingness to compromise. According to Caesar's own account of these tumultuous years, *The Gallic Wars*, the legion assigned to Pompey was Caesar's anyway. Keeping his promise, Caesar handed over the 15th Legion, quartered in Cisalpine Gaul, only to find out that the Parthian threat had petered out and that both legions now lay firmly under the control of Pompey in Italy.

Far from undermining Caesar's confidence, Pompey's deceitful maneuver only seemed to stiffen his resolve. Throughout that year, the brinkmanship between the two generals grew, and nerves stretched to breaking point. A false rumor spread that Caesar had set out from Gaul with four legions. The statesman and orator Cicero vainly tried to find a peaceful solution to the conflict while a sense that the republic was becoming increasingly ungovernable took hold in the capital. Alliances shifted continually: One of Caesar's most loyal lieutenants, Labienus, decided to switch sides to Pompey.

Meanwhile, Pompey had convinced himself that his forces were stronger than Caesar's and that his charismatic leadership would enable him to recruit as many men as he wished in Italy. According to the late first-century historian Plutarch, a contemporary of Suetonius: "When they said that if Caesar was heading to Rome they could not see what troops could withstand him, Pompey boastfully replied with a smile: 'Legions will spring up anywhere I stamp on the ground in Italy.' "

Marcus Caelius Rufus, an aristocrat, summarized the situation in a letter to Cicero in the fall of that year: "The closer we come to this inevitable clash, the more apparent the danger. At the heart of the issue is this: Pompey declares he won't allow Caesar to be elected consul unless Caesar relinquishes control over his army and provinces; Caesar, on the other hand, is convinced his status is threatened if he gives up his troops . . . So now . . . their scandalous liaison isn't stepping behind the scenes . . . but exploding into full-scale war!"

Most of the terrified senators were willing to


Brundisium
Brindisi
6
5 Caesar makes his camp in Apulia. His troops approach Sulmo, which immediately surrenders. Corfinium falls with the capture of three legions. Many of these soldiers join up with Caesar.
6 As Caesar advances with an ever growing army, Pompey abandons Capua for Brundisium. Caesar races to cut him off, but Pompey sails to the Greek shore with his troops in mid-March.

ELEMENT OF SURPRISE

Caesar's risky move in crossing the Rubicon surprised his opponents. Pompey judged it unwise to fight Caesar in Italy and decided to withdraw to Greece and the east, where he was able to recruit a well-trained army. His allies fled Italian towns and cities as Caesar approached. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus was the only one who fought back. He dug in at Corfinium. But his own men mutinied and handed him over to his enemy together with other senators. Caesar let them go free, knowing full well they would go back to Pompey—which they did. This magnanimous and unexpected gesture was calculated to show the public that he was no tyrant, but rather a man on the side of the people and the republic, an image he would foster until the end of his life.

ROMAN LEGIONNAIRE BRONZE STATUE, SECOND TO FIRST CENTURIES B.C. MUSEUM OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION, ROME

ART ARCHIVE

grant the concessions Caesar was asking for to avoid war. In December, when the plebeian leader Curio persuaded the Senate to vote on the proposal for Caesar and Pompey to lay down their arms at the same time, 370 senators voted for it and just 22 against. But the faction opposing Caesar immediately went against the spirit of this decision. They sought out Pompey in the Forum and dramatically placed a sword in his hand, begging him to take command of Italy's troops to save the republic. They urged him to take command of the army and of as many additional troops as he wanted to recruit himself. Although he was breaking the law, Pompey accepted the mission.

The Moment of Fate

As the year 49 B.C. opened, Caesar sent the Senate a letter from Ravenna, giving them his final word on the matter. He again offered to resign his command at the same time as Pompey, but the Senate interpreted his proposal as a gesture of arrogance. Pompey and the consuls prevented a vote on the proposal in the letter and passed a motion declaring Caesar a public enemy. The motion was vetoed by Mark Antony, the newly appointed plebeian tribune and crucial ally of Caesar who would prove to play a fateful role in the last stages of his life. Even so, negotiations went on until the very last moment. Caesar even said he would stand down if he were allowed to keep just one legion and govern the province of Illyria, in the modern-day Balkans. The proposal might have been acceptable but was rejected due to fierce opposition by Cato the Younger, one of Caesar's most implacable opponents.

The Senate met again and passed a decree calling on the consuls to defend Rome against any attack. The tribunes Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius (a relative of the famous Cassius who later conspired to assassinate Caesar) exercised their veto, but it was rejected by the Senate. Fearing for their lives, Mark Antony and Cassius fled Rome disguised as slaves and joined Caesar in the north.

Writing later in *The Civil Wars*, Caesar recalled how he had been waiting for the Senate's response for days "[to see] if matters could be brought to a peaceful end by any equitable act on the part of his enemies." But he now realized there

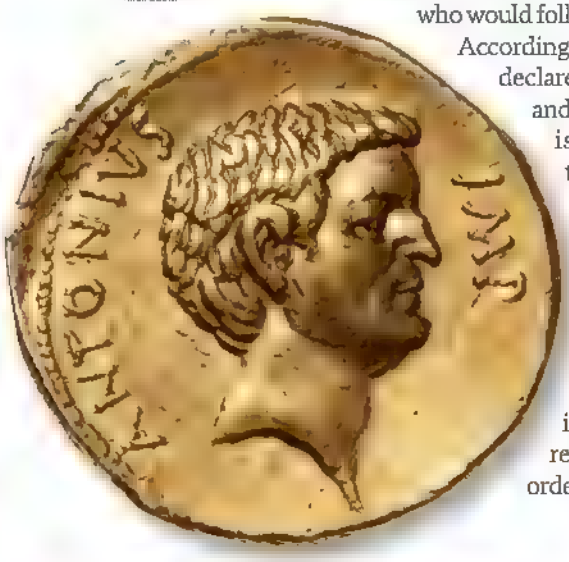
CAESAR COMES TO ROME

RUMORS AND OMENS

[illegible] had crossed the Rubicon reached Rome on January 15, Pompey's supporters fled in a panic, believing the exaggerated rumors of the size of Caesar's force—perhaps understandable, given Caesar's fearsome reputation in Gaul. Rome was emptied of most of the senators and its most influential citizens. Those who stayed in the city were filled with foreboding.

Writing a century later, the historian Dio Cassius described the terrifying portents Romans had seen around this time. Wolves were sighted. Earthquakes, comets, and a solar eclipse were seen, and there were reports of the birth of monstrous animals. The Capitol was struck by lightning, which damaged the statues of Jupiter and Mars. It all seemed to portend a terrible disaster for the city: a sacking carried out by vengeful and battle-hardened legions fresh from Gaul. Three months later, however, when he finally entered Rome following Pompey's flight to Greece, Caesar imposed discipline on his men and reestablished the appearance of legality by holding a Senate meeting on the outskirts of the city. Although few senators actually attended, it sent a clear signal that he was now to be regarded as the sole authority in Rome.

A KEY ALLY
Depicted below on the back of an aureus minted in Gaul, Mark Antony was entrusted with the command of the left wing of Caesar's army in major battles.
AKG/ALBUM



was no other way and started preparing for the final showdown. Around January 10, when he learned of the Senate's decision, he ordered the 13th Legion to take up their riverside positions, exhorting them to defend the honor of their general whom they had served for nine years. They in turn swore to avenge the insults against him and the tribunes.

Caesar now had the backing of a loyal army who would follow him to victory or death. According to the poet Lucan, Caesar declared: "Here I abandon peace and desecrated law. Fortune, it is you I follow. Farewell to treaties. From now on, war is our judge."

After the Crossing

The choice facing Rome was either decades of more factionalism and political chaos, or accepting a strongman to impose reform, and set its affairs in order. On swiftly passing to the far bank of this minor river, Caesar set the republic hurtling down the second course.

Since crossing the Rubicon, Caesar and his legions had expelled Pompey and his troops from Italy. But this campaign was just the beginning. In the attempt to destroy Pompey and his extensive allies across the Roman world, Caesar was forced to cover astonishing distances, putting down a revolt in modern-day Marseille in France before routing Pompey's loyalists in Spain at the Battle of Ilerda in June.

The following year, 48 B.C., Caesar dedicated to pursuing Pompey across Greece. Crossing to Egypt after his defeat at the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey threw himself on the mercy of Ptolemy XIII, who immediately had him murdered. The Egyptian ruler evidently saw where the tide of Roman power was flowing.

Shortly after the removal of his military rival, Caesar arrived in Egypt, where he patched up the dynastic struggle between Ptolemy and his sister, Cleopatra VII. Little knowing she would become the last of the Ptolemaic monarchs who had ruled Egypt since the time of Alexander the Great, Cleopatra spent much of that same year

as Caesar's lover, sealing her reputation in the Roman world as a femme fatale who would later "ensnare" Mark Antony.

As the Alexandrian romance eventually faltered, war once again proved the constant in Caesar's life. Despite the death of their captain, Pompey's supporters had regrouped in order to avenge him, and Caesar was forced to buckle on his armor again, briefly returning to Rome before dealing a crushing blow against his enemies in modern-day Tunisia in 46 B.C. Even then, resistance to the new order bubbled up in the following months. Caesar only delivered the death blow to Pompey's stubborn followers in Spain a year later, in 45 B.C.

Having returned to Rome, he continued implementing significant reforms in the year of life left to him. These included improving land and grain distribution, as well as the reorganization of local government across Italy. No doubt Caesar hoped for many years of life to enact his reforms—but where he had defeated his enemies on the battlefield, he proved more vulnerable in the corridors of power. On that infamous March day the following year, he succumbed to the assassins' knives.

What would have happened had Caesar not made that fateful river crossing five years previously? What would have happened if the republican old guard that assassinated him had prevailed over Mark Antony, reinforced republican power, and steered the Roman world away from autocratic rule?

In the event, he was succeeded by his adopted son, Octavian, who consolidated the drift toward authoritarian leadership, later becoming the Emperor Augustus. Under this brilliant, implacable leader, the new Roman Empire buried the old, aristocratic infighting to become a global power, whose astonishing legacy continues to shape the modern world.

HISTORIAN **FERNANDO JILLO REDONET** HAS WRITTEN NUMEROUS STUDIES OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD, INCLUDING ON GLADIATORS AND THE SUPERNATURAL.

A CROWNING MOMENT

In 44 B.C. Mark Antony presented Caesar a crown at Rome's Temple of Castor and Pollux (above). Despite rejecting Antony's offer, Caesar was assassinated a month later

ANGELO CAVALLI/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Learn more

BOOKS

Caesar: Life of a Colossus
Adrian Goldsworthy. Yale University Press, 2006

Rubicon. The Last Years of the Roman Republic
Tom Holland. Anchor Books, 2005

SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome
Mary Beard. Liveright Publishing, 2015

THE WORD
Holding the Bible, Christ appears as Pantocrator, "Ruler of All," in this sixth-century panel kept at St. Catherine's Monastery in Egypt. Right, a page from the Gospel of Judas, a Gnostic text from the fourth century, found in Egypt in the 1970s. Coptic Museum, Cairo.

ICONS: ART ARCHIVE
GOSPEL: KENNETH GARRETT/NGS

THE FORBIDDEN BOOKS OF THE GNOSTICS

SEEKING THE HIDDEN GOSPELS

Lost in the desert for centuries, ancient texts have revealed new dimensions to a familiar story: the life and lessons of Jesus. These books were written by the Gnostics, an early sect of Christianity rejected as heretical by the church in the second and third centuries. Denounced and mocked at the time, these Gnostic works are now providing an intriguing insight into the formation of the Christian church.

ANTONIO PIÑERO

A LAND OF HIDDEN BOOKS

Fields around the town of Nag Hammadi, near the site where fourth-century monks hid apocryphal texts. A new orthodoxy had arrived in Egypt.

M. SHEPHERD/ALAMY/RCI

Sometime in the fourth century A.D., 13 bound papyrus books were placed in a clay jar and buried in a remote spot in Egypt. They remained hidden for centuries until 1945, when local Egyptians uncovered the vessel near the town of Nag Hammadi. The documents were in Coptic, an ancient Egyptian language written using the Greek alphabet, and dated to the time of the birth of Christianity. Further analysis revealed that the Nag Hammadi library, as it came to be known, also contained a treasure trove of knowledge about one of the early branches of Christianity: Gnosticism.

Until the 19th and 20th centuries, knowledge of the Gnostic movement was very limited. As the early Christian faith began to organize in the centuries following Jesus' death (around A.D. 30), the teachings of dissident sects, such as the Gnostics, were treated as heresies and decried by the church. As a result, many of the Gnostic writings did not survive. For centuries, evidence of the existence of such condemned texts came only from references to them in the writings of early Christian theologians who were denouncing them. Scholars of early Christianity were faced with glaring holes in the narrative of how the church was born.

The Nag Hammadi library, and later discoveries like the Gospel of Judas, would fill in these empty spaces. The Gospel of Judas, translated by the National Geographic Society in 2006, has been dated to between A.D. 220 and 340, and it was itself a translation from what is believed to be an earlier Greek text. The papyrus on which the gospel was copied is in a poor state, and there has been much debate among scholars over how to interpret it. But many agree that its presentation of Judas Iscariot as a sympathetic disciple who fully understands his master's teachings, strikingly challenges the traditional view of Judas as the arch traitor, damned for all eternity.

Over time, the Gnostic gospels had become regarded as "apocryphal," and were excluded from the established canon of the New Testament, which had fixed the accepted Gospels at four: those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. "Apocrypha" derives from the Greek verb *apokryptein*, meaning "to hide," and over time, the term has taken on overtones of falsehood. These

controversial books reveal the issues at stake in the formation of the church and the different theological strains competing for acceptance.

Turmoil in the Church

For the first two to three hundred years after the time of Christ, the number of Christian believers grew dramatically. Toward the end of the first century A.D., Christianity had spread throughout the Roman Empire. Some scholars estimate that there were as many as 300,000 Christians in Asia Minor alone at this time.

In the first and second centuries A.D. there was no formal church. Instead there were many local groups focused on Jesus Christ. As Jesus had authored no writings himself, many of these factions interpreted his words and produced a proliferation of different scriptures and beliefs.

This diversity of opinions eventually settled down into three main currents The first was formed mainly of Jews, successors of those early followers who had been closest to Jesus during his life. They saw Jesus as a Messiah, which in Hebrew means "annointed one," the

The Good Books: Creating the Bible

Following the death of Jesus, a series of texts proclaimed he was sent not by the God of the Hebrew Bible, but by another, superior being. The Gnostics taught that Jesus revealed how the soul could be reunited with this perfect divinity.

SCALA, FLORENCE

CHRIST CRUCIFIED 5TH-6TH CENTURIES A.D. ARCH. MUSEUM, CIVIDALE DEL. FRIULI, ITALY

circa A.D. 30
Jesus is crucified in Jerusalem by Roman authorities.

circa 65–95
The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are written, the only gospels that will become part of the New Testament.

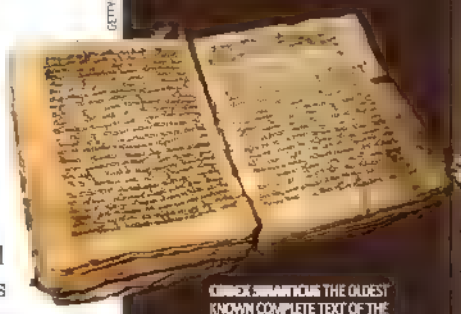
ART ARCHIVE

ST. MARK MINIATURE FROM THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, SEVENTH TO EIGHTH CENTURIES. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

circa 110–200
The main Gnostic writings are composed, among them the Gospels of Thomas, Judas, Philip, and Mary.

circa 180
In his book *Against Heresies*, Bishop Irenaeus begins the ecclesiastical offensive against the Gnostic movement.

GETTY IMAGES



CODEX SINAITICUS THE OLDEST KNOWN COMPLETE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CA A.D. 350. ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY, SINAI, EGYPT

circa 367
The Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius is the first to list the 27 books, including the four canonical gospels, of the New Testament.

The Journey of the Lost Gospels

Many Christian texts in Egypt are written in Coptic, a language derived from ancient Egyptian, and written using the Greek alphabet. Several of the writings uncovered in Egypt are Coptic translations of Gnostic texts originally written in Greek in the second and third centuries.

IN DECEMBER 1945 farm workers near the Nile were digging to find *sabakh*, a type of soil used as fertilizer, when they came across a large clay jar. The discovery took place near Nag Hammadi, around 350 miles south of Cairo. At the foot of the mountain known as Jabal al Tarif, laborer Muhammad Ali al-Samman hesitated before breaking the jar because he was frightened that he might set free a jinn, or evil spirit. Finally, curious to see if it contained treasure, he cracked it open to find 13 leather-bound codices (very early types of bound books) each of which was later found to contain several writings. Some of the pages may have been burned for fuel at Muhammad's home before he sold the rest on the antiquities black market. Twelve manuscripts were confiscated by the Egyptian government and the thirteenth bought by the Jung foundation in Zurich. Years later, in the 1970s, in a tomb in the mountains of Jebel Qarara 125 miles from Cairo, farm workers found four codices, among them the Gospel of Judas, restored and translated by the National Geographic Society in 2006.

TOMES FROM A FOURTH-CENTURY MONASTIC CELL IN THE EGYPTIAN MONASTERY OF ST. ANTHONY

KENNETH GARRETT/NGS

representative of God who would one day restore God's kingdom on Earth. To these early Jewish Christians, Jesus was fully human, and certainly not God himself.

The second current was formed mainly of those who had been converted to the Christian faith under the influence of St. Paul. Having persecuted Christians before his dramatic conversion on the road to Damascus, Paul took the idea of Jesus as the Messiah a very radical step further, claiming that he was not only God's representative but also his son. The central tenet of Paul's Christianity was that God the Father had deemed the sacrifice of his son Jesus necessary in order to eliminate the sins not only of the Jews but of all humankind. This faction, led by Paul, was to become the dominant group in the early church, shaping the way that Christianity would develop over the next two thousand years.

Divine Spark

The third stream of early Christians, considerably smaller in number, came to represent a threat to the ideas of the Christian orthodoxy that was beginning to emerge under St. Paul.

Known as the Gnostics, they believed one could know Jesus through a life of inner transformation. Direct knowledge of the divine—in Greek, *gnosis*—would bring them salvation. But what was this arcane knowledge, and why did the rest of the early church reject it?

Gnosticism was resistant to a strict orthodoxy; rather it emphasized the process of gaining wisdom through experience. It explained that the material world was created by a being, known as the "demiurge." Although the demiurge thought himself to be all-powerful, he was actually inferior to a higher order of ultimate divinity who existed beyond this imperfect material existence.

Gnostics taught that ordinary men and women all bear a flicker of that divinity, and their spiritual journey was to strive to reconnect themselves with that perfect, divine knowledge. The rank and file of people were still not fully aware of this holy spark because the desires and suffering of their flesh kept them separate from it. The higher divinity sent a series of beings to Earth, each charged with revealing these truths and the way to salvation. The chain began with Adam, continued with his son Seth, and then later included Moses and the prophets, all the way down to Jesus. It was Jesus who revealed the ultimate truth: That the spirit, imprisoned in the body of a Gnostic, had to return to being united with the divine if true salvation was to be possessed.

Gnostics believed they were the only ones capable of fully understanding the scriptures revealed in the Old and New Testaments. They believed that their biblical writings contained the messages of the Great Revealer and Illuminator, Jesus. While other Christians may have understood superficially, the Gnostics believed they enjoyed a profound understanding, and that absolute religious truth belonged to them alone.

A Church Within a Church

In the second century A.D. Gnostic teachers such as the Egyptian-born Valentinus argued that their ideas were the same as those revealed by Jesus to his closest followers in the period between his resurrection and ascension into heaven. They preached that this intimate circle had included John, James the brother of Jesus, the

CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY

Nestled in an oasis, the Coptic Monastery of St. Anthony in eastern Egypt is one of the oldest monastic houses in history. Until its suppression in the fourth century, Gnostic ideas were embraced by many Coptic monks.

JOSE NICOLAS/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

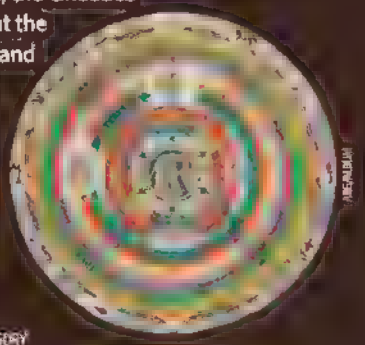
Divine Wisdom

GNOSTICS DID NOT BELIEVE that Jesus was the son of God, as St. Paul taught. For them, Christ was a celestial being, who had been introduced into the physical body of Jesus. This celestial Christ was an emanation or projection of the ultimate divinity who had resided in heaven along with other similar emanations. These beings formed a kind of celestial court around the divine, who then sent them into the world. The celestial Christ revealed one main idea to the Gnostics: In the same way that Jesus and the divine were one, so too was the Gnostic believer, in whose body a spark of the divine spirit was also lodged. The Gnostics' disdain for the material world was founded on their view of the body, whose corporeal desires and needs must be renounced in order to return to the divine sphere. According to Gnostic teachings, Christ revealed how the portion of the spirit that resided in the body yearned to return to its origin when the body died. By discerning this hidden portion in their lifetimes, a true believer could thereby attain salvation.

THE LAST SUPPER BY DIERIC BOUTS THE ELDER, 1464. SINT-PIETERSKERK, LEUVEN, BELGIUM

1 JOURNEY OF THE SPIRIT: BEYOND THE PLANETARY SPHERES

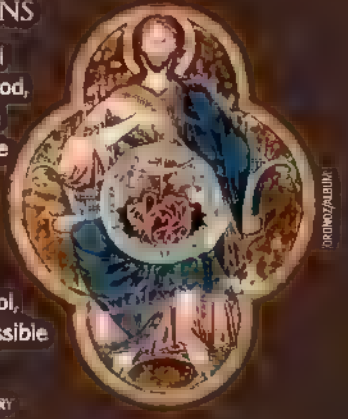
Like the vast majority of the ancients, the Gnostics believed that the Earth was located at the center of the universe with the stars and planets moving around it, forming spheres. Beyond these spheres lay heaven, the dwelling place of the divine. When Gnostics died, they believed their souls departed the body and traveled across these celestial spheres until finally they were reunited with the divine.



HEAVEN AND PLANETARY SPHERES 17TH-CENTURY ALLEGORY

2 ENEMIES OF THE SPIRIT: DEMIURGE AND ARCHONS

The Gnostics believed that the material world had been created by an inferior god, or "demiurge," who was lesser than the God of the Hebrew Bible. This demiurge controlled the universe and created humans through archons, chiefs of the distinct planetary spheres. Both archons and the demiurge tried to prevent the spirits escaping their control, and so put up as many obstacles as possible to inhibit their ascent into heaven.



GOD CREATING THE WORLD BIBLE OF ST. LOUIS, 13TH CENTURY

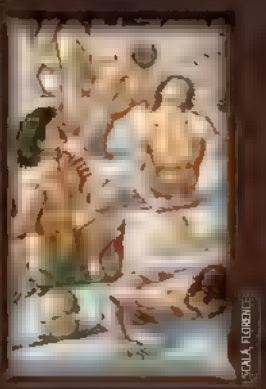
3 SPELLS FOR THE SPIRIT: FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED

Special knowledge could foil the archons. A Gnostic fragment known as On the Passage of the Soul (A.D. 100–300) contains spells—written as untranslatable Coptic letters—that give the bearer the power to disarm archons at a given moment during the soul's voyage: *"And again when they take my soul to the place of Typhon / the great and powerful Archon with the face of an ass / ... when they take my soul to that place / it will give to them the mystery of their fear, which is: PPAWP."*

CROSS AND EAGLE ON A COPTIC STELA, SEVENTH TO EIGHTH CENTURIES

4 ETERNAL LIFE FOR THE SPIRIT: LEAVING THE BODY BEHIND

To Gnostics, the resurrection of the body was unthinkable. Only the spirit was immortal; the flesh was no more than the husk left behind when the divine spirit returned to its origins. This was one of many aspects of Gnostic theology that ran counter to orthodox Christian thinking, enshrined in the fourth-century Apostles Creed: "I believe in ... the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."



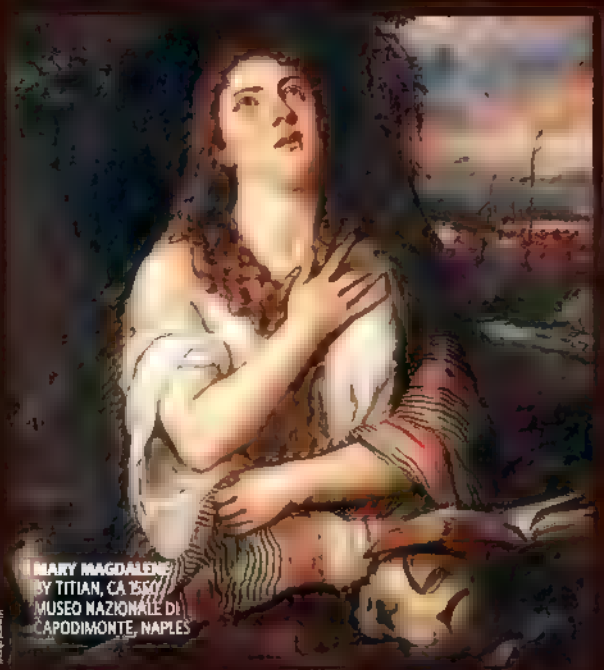
RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH, LUCA SIGNORELLI, 1500. ORVIETO CATHEDRAL, ITALY

A Woman's Testimony

Discovered in 1896, the Gospel of Mary was also one of the books excluded from the official New Testament. Many scholars consider the work to be Gnostic, while others disagree, saying it differs in both its scope and theological approach.

LED BY MEN, the official church could not contemplate women being prophets and preachers. This antagonism is shown dramatically in the following scene from the third-century Gospel of Mary, in which the Mary of the title, believed to be Mary Magdalene, explains to Jesus' disciples that she has had a vision of Christ and that he has spoken with her.

Then Peter responded: "Did He really speak with a woman without our knowledge [and] not openly? Are we to turn about and all listen to her? Did He prefer her to us?" Then Mary wept and said to Peter, "My brother Peter, what do you think? Do you think that I thought this up myself in my heart, or that I am lying about the Savior? Levi answered and said to Peter, "Peter, you have always been hot-tempered. Now I see you contending against the woman like the adversaries. But if the Savior made this woman worthy, who are you indeed to reject her? Surely the Savior knows her very well. That is why He loved her more than us."



MARY MAGDALENE, BY TITIAN, CA 1560, MUSEO NAZIONALE DI CAPODIMONTE, NAPLES

Apostle Philip, Thomas, and Mary Magdalene. The Gnostic leaders of the second century also claimed that these chosen disciples had left behind written testaments recording what Jesus had said to them, works that include the Gospels of Thomas and Judas as well as other gnostic writings such as the Sophia of Jesus Christ, the Letter of Peter to Philip, and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Peter, copies of which were found among the Nag Hammadi collection.

In general, the Christian Gnostics tended to accept the existence of a common church, "the official church" of which they considered themselves to be a select subgroup, with their own prayers, hymns, and sacraments. For a Gnostic, salvation was an intellectual act: It consisted of receiving the revelation of gnosis and accepting it. As indicated in the Gnostic Gospel of Philip, the sacraments were used as symbols to dramatize the idea that the Gnostic believer, who had accepted the divine spirit, was already experiencing the resurrection or union with the divine during their earthly, carnal life.

Divine unction, during which the recipient was annointed with oil, was also an important

rite. It linked the recipient to Christ, whose title is derived from the Greek term Kristós, a translation of the Hebrew word Messiah, which, as stated earlier, means "annointed one." In the ceremony of the nuptial chamber, the initiate would be placed in a bedroom representing a marriage chamber, and it was here that the mystical union would take place between the Gnostic's celestial spirit and God.

The so-called brotherly kiss or embrace expressed brotherhood among the community. They kissed on the mouth, in imitation of an incident in the Gnostic text the Second Apocalypse of James: "And he [Jesus] kissed my mouth. He took hold of me, saying, 'My beloved! Behold, I shall reveal to you those things that neither the heavens nor their archons [evil servants of the demiurge] have known.'"

The Backlash

Despite the Gospel of Judas' dating to the third and fourth century A.D., scholars are fairly sure it is a later copy of an earlier text. The writings of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum (the modern-day city of Lyon in France) condemned a work with this name in his *Against Heresies*. Written around A.D. 180, this work attacked a "fictitious history . . . which they style the Gospel of Judas"—the one solid reference to the work until the actual copy of the apocryphal gospel was identified in the early 1980s.

Irenaeus's work marks the beginnings of the early church's attempt to organize sacred texts and stamp out opposition, whether from the Jewish or the Gnostic factions of the church. Over the next century and a half, the church became more centralized and selected official documents as its teachings. Around 367, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, fixed the New Testament at the 27 books that remain in place today. It may well have been in this environment in the fourth century—perhaps around 380, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire—that those forbidden books were hidden away in the desert to protect them and preserve their perspective on the nascent days of the Christian faith.

ANTONIO PIÑERO IS PROFESSOR OF GREEK PHILOLOGY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

TRAITOR OR HERO?

In presenting Judas in a favorable light, the Gospel of Judas upends the orthodox view that the apostle selfishly betrayed Jesus by a kiss, depicted here in Giotto's 1305 fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua

JIG/ALBUM

MARTYRDOM OF THE MAID
Joan of Arc, bound and dressed in a white chemise is led to her execution site in the market square of Rouen. The pope annulled her conviction in the 1450s and she was canonized in 1920. Painting by Isidore Patrois, 1867. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

JOAN OF ARC

Warrior, Heretic, Saint

Divine voices guided the young farm girl Joan of Arc to lead the French against the English. Burned as a heretic in 1431, the Maid of Orléans was both shaped and destroyed by the religious fervor and high politics of the Hundred Years' War.

JULIEN THÉRY

SKETCH OF A SAINT

The only image of Joan made in her lifetime is this drawing (left) produced by a secretary of the Paris Supreme Court in May 1429 following the lifting of the siege of Orléans. National Archives, Paris

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

LEADING THE CHARGE
Leading the French cavalry, Joan rides into a hail of arrows from the English longbowmen at Patay, shortly after liberating Orléans. Painting by Frank Craig, 1907. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

CHARLES BOWMAN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

By the end of 1430 the rulers of England and France, who had been locked in a war for decades, became increasingly preoccupied by the fate of an 18-year-old peasant girl. In December the faculty of the University of Paris wrote a letter to the king of England, who controlled Paris at that time: "We have recently heard that the woman called The Maid is now delivered into your power, (and) . . . must humbly beseech you, most feared and sovereign lord . . . to command that this woman shall be shortly delivered into the hands of the justice of the Church."

The Maid was Joan of Arc, whose role in liberating the city of Orléans in 1429 had put courage back into the hearts of the embattled French. Even so, her capture soon after was a morale boost for the English, who immediately set out to vilify the woman who had done so much damage to their military campaigns. Shortly after the letter from the University of Paris was written, her trial took place. After the guilty verdict was handed down, Joan was executed in Rouen on May 30, 1431, by being burned alive.

Once her ashes had been scattered in the Seine River, Joan's detractors hoped her name would be erased from history, but her name has burned more brightly in the hearts and minds of the French ever since then. The humble farm girl turned the tide for the French in the closing years of the Hundred Years' War. Her claims that the divine voices she heard would lead France to victory made her one of the most celebrated figures of late medieval history.

THE KINGS AND THE MAIDEN

1337
The Hundred Years' War begins. Successive French and English kings will battle for decades to be the rightful rulers of France.

1415-1420
England's King Henry V invades France and becomes heir to the French throne. Much of France is loyal to Charles of Valois, the disinherited son of Charles VI.

SEAL OF CHARLES VII OF FRANCE 15TH CENTURY MUNICIPAL MUSEUM, VAUCOULEURS, FRANCE
DEA/ALBUM

THE CROWNING TRIUMPH

Kings of France were traditionally crowned at the high Gothic cathedral of Reims, where Charles VII was coronated on July 17, 1429, with his supporter Joan of Arc in attendance.

©RMN-GRAND PALAIS

1425

Born in 1412 in Domrémy, France, Joan of Arc begins hearing divine voices instructing her to fight for Charles Valois.

1429

Joan meets Charles and convinces him to let her lead the French forces. On July 17, 1429, Charles VII is crowned king of France.

1430-31

Joan is captured by the English, imprisoned in Rouen, she is tried and found guilty of heresy and witchcraft. She is burned at the stake on May 30, 1431.

1453-56

France wins the Battle of Castillon, ending the Hundred Years' War. Joan's sentence is vacated after King Charles orders a review of her trial.

THE CAPTURE OF JOAN OF ARC. OIL ON PANEL BY ADOLPHE-ALEXANDRE DILLENS, 1847-1852. HERMITAGE MUSEUM, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

FINE ART/AGE FOTOSTOCK

A Harlot to Enemy Eyes

FROM THE MOMENT that Joan of Arc was incorporated into Charles's army, her Anglo-Burgundian enemies unleashed a war of words against her. As well as the charge that she was inspired by the devil, Joan would endure attempts to slander her sexually for the rest of her life. While her allies emphasized her purity, her enemies denounced her as a "harlot," who spent all her time surrounded by soldiers.

ACCORDING TO ONE account, during the siege of Orléans Joan composed a passionate message to the English soldiers, warning them to retreat. She tied her letter to an arrow and had an archer fire it into the English camp. On receipt of the letter, a great cry could be heard from the enemy lines opposite: "News from the whore of the French Armagnacs!"

TOUCHED BY THE WAR

Often depicted as a fierce warrior, Joan also recoiled from the grim realities of battle, according to accounts. During the first day she fought to lift the siege of Orléans, she is said to have wept for the fallen on both sides. 15th-century helmet British Museum, London

BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

Portrayed by her enemies as a heretic, a witch, and a madwoman, she was later pardoned and eventually recognized as a saint by the Catholic Church. Today, she is a national hero of the French. Although historians regard Joan's role as one of many factors in the winning of a complex war, her presence both as a warrior and spiritual visionary sparked the beginnings of France's rise as a great European power.

Joan's story has deep roots in the medieval struggle over control of France. Since the invasion of England by the French-speaking William the Conqueror in 1066, the English kings who followed him had maintained a claim to certain French lands. In 1337 King Edward III went to war with French king Philip VI over these territories, the opening act of the Hundred Years' War.

At first, the English armies won significant battles under the command of Edward III's son Edward the Black Prince. But the English strength faltered, checked by the ravages of the Black Death in the 1350s, the decline of Edward and his heir, and the rallying of French forces under their king Charles V. By 1413 momentum had started to shift again—this time back in England's favor with the accession of Henry V.

In 1415 Henry won the Battle of Agincourt over a much larger French force. The victory strengthened England's standing in Europe. Henry continued to win battles, and after a run of successes, he forced the French to recognize his heirs as successors to the French throne as one of the terms of the Treaty of Troyes in 1420. Henry then married the French king's daughter Catherine of Valois, and forged a military alliance with Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. By 1422, the year of King Henry V's early death, the Anglo-Burgundian alliance controlled much of northern France, including Paris. His son, Henry VI, would continue the fight for these lands.

The Warrior Maid

Joan of Arc was born in 1412 in Domrémy, a small village in northeastern France near the border of the lands controlled by the English. From the age of 13, Joan claimed to have heard divine voices and seen visions of St. Michael, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and St. Margaret of Antioch. These divine messengers, she said, were urging her to go to the aid of the man who was the rightful king of France: Charles of Valois, son of Charles VI, whom the English had disinherited.

THE LAST DAYS OF PEACE

Following intensive campaigning in 1430, Joan of Arc spent some time here, in the Château de Sully-sur-Loire. Afterward, she set off to fight in Compiègne, where she was taken prisoner and abandoned to the English.

A GRIM END
The castle of Rouen, where Joan was held pending her execution, was built by the French king Philip II in the early 1200s. The keep, now called the Tower of Joan of Arc (above) is the only surviving structure.

G. COURTELEMONT/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Because Paris lay deep in English-held territory, Charles had been forced to set up a makeshift court at Chinon on the Loire River. In 1428, Joan traveled there to explain her divine mission to Charles, but was turned away before she could meet with him. She returned to Chinon the following year and was able to convince a panel of theologians of her claim that she had been sent to "liberate France from its calamities." They granted the teenager an audience with the exiled heir.

Joan informed Charles that divine voices wished her to fight the English and that her participation would lead to his coronation at Reims, the sacred site where France's kings were crowned. After much examination, she won over Charles and his followers. They decided to put her to use at Orléans, a city under English siege.

Support for Joan was galvanized by her presence outside the walls of Orléans.

SEAL OF THE COUNT OF DUNOIS, WHO FOUGHT ALONGSIDE JOAN AT ORLÉANS. JOAN OF ARC MUSEUM, ORLÉANS

Support for *La Pucelle* (the Maid) was galvanized later that year when Joan, dressed as a warrior, liberated the city of Orléans followed by more French victories. In June French troops crushed the English at Patay, and in July Charles VII was crowned in the cathedral of Reims in the presence of the young warrior prophet who had predicted the event.

But the tide soon turned against Joan of Arc. Instead of expelling the English from France, Joan and her army then suffered several military setbacks. On May 23, 1430, Joan was captured near Paris by the Duke of Burgundy's men, who later turned her over to the English. Suddenly, her claims appeared weak. How could an envoy of God fall so easily into enemy hands? And if she hadn't been sent by God, who or what was she?

The English and their allies among the French were in no doubt. Religious doubts about the sanctity of Joan of Arc blended seamlessly into high politics. If the voices she heard were diabolic, then her whole cause, and the coronation of Charles VII itself, had been the work of the devil.

The Journey to the Stake

The English brought their accusations against Joan, now imprisoned in Rouen, in January 1431. Among them were the charges that she had violated divine law by dressing as a man and bearing arms; that she had deceived simple people by making them believe that God had sent her; and finally that she had committed "divine offense," namely heresy. Some days later, when the trial opened, the Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, added the charge of witchcraft and declared that Joan was now also under suspicion of having cast spells and invoked demons.

On February 21 Joan answered her charges for the first time before the tribunal. "They asked poor Joan very difficult, subtle, and misleading questions," said one contemporary, "many clerics and educated men present there would have had problems answering." But the young woman knew how to defend herself. Her concise replies often disarmed the judges and aroused admiration from the public.

Was Joan sure of being in God's grace, she was asked? If she answered no, she knew she would be lying, while if she answered yes, she would be arrogantly placing herself beyond the authority of the church. So instead Joan answered: "If I am not [in a state of grace] may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me." Several weeks passed, no confession was forthcoming

RETRACTION AND REVELATION

May 24, 1431: Joan of Arc is taken to view the stake that has been prepared for her on the outskirts of Rouen. She agrees to recant and, as a sign of her submission, wear women's clothing. Once back in prison, she again hears divine voices and reverts to dressing as a man. On May 28, 1431, Bishop Cauchon, accompanied by seven judges, arrives in her cell to question her for the last time. The extract is taken from the transcript of her interrogation.

When, and why, did you revert to dressing as a man?
I have done this on my own free will. Nobody has forced me; I prefer the apparel of a man to that of a woman.

Why have you done this?
It is both more seemly and proper to dress like this when surrounded by men, than wearing a woman's clothes. While I have been in prison, the English have molested me when I was dressed as a woman. (She weeps.) I have done this to defend my modesty.

Have you heard, since Thursday, the voices of St. Catherine and St. Margaret?
Yes

What did they tell you?
That God was telling me, through them, that I had endangered my soul by recanting, and that I had condemned myself for having tried to save my life, If it is not God who sent them, I condemn myself; but I know it really is God who has sent them. Everything I have recanted, I have done so only because of the fear of the fire. If it does not please God to recant, then I will not do so.

You are, therefore, a relapsed heretic.
If you, Lords of the Church, had placed me in your own prisons, this would not have happened.

Now we have heard this, we can proceed only according to law and reason.

JOAN OF ARC INTERROGATED PAINTING BY PAUL DELAROCHE, 1824. MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS, ROUEN

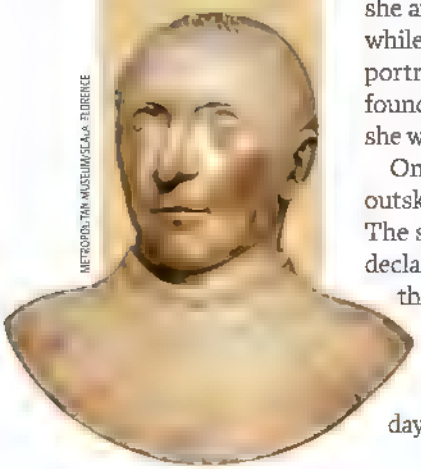
English Sinner, French Saint

FOLLOWING THE EXECUTION of Joan of Arc, Henry VI of England wrote detailed letters to sovereigns, prelates, and nobles across Europe to announce that a certain "false prophetess" had received her just punishment. He even assured them that Joan had confessed to having been a heretic before her execution. In Paris a general procession was organized to celebrate her demise.

SEVERAL YEARS LATER, when Charles VII reconquered Normandy and expelled the English from France, he made it his business to annul Joan's trial, with the help and support of the papacy. This was as much a political act as a religious act, a way for Charles VII to ratify his legitimacy as a king designated by God—just as the Maid herself had declared.

THROWING OUT THE VERDICT

In 1455 Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen, declared Joan innocent of heresy. 15th-century bust. Metropolitan Museum, New York



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

and Cauchon was forced to drop the charges of witchcraft and concentrate instead on a few key points that he thought would clinch the case of Joan's heresy. At the beginning of April, a list of 12 accusations, reduced from 70, was approved and then submitted for examination by the University of Paris.

They found Joan to be a liar and an invoker of malign spirits. While she claimed to have had visions of archangels and saints, the panel judged that these figures were in fact Belial, Satan, and Behemoth. Her wearing of men's clothes, which she argued was necessary to escape detection while in Burgundian-controlled territory, was portrayed as unnatural and wicked. Joan was found to be a heretic. If she would not repent, she would be punished as such.

On May 24 she was taken to a site on the outskirts of Rouen and placed beside the stake. The sight may have terrified her, leading to a declaration that she would hand herself over to the authority of the church and sign a retraction. Joan's sentence was reduced to life in prison and she agreed to dress as a woman.

When the judges went to visit her four days later, however, they found her once again in men's clothing. The voices had returned, she told them, and had reproached her for her weakness. This relapse was exactly what the accusers wanted; they could now justify the death penalty. Unable to conceal his delight, Cauchon proclaimed to his laughing fellow clerics: "You can have a great celebration, everything is prepared." On the morning of May 30, Joan was taken to the stake. As the flames consumed her, she could be heard repeatedly proclaiming the name of Jesus.

The Hundred Years' War would continue for 22 years after her death. English fortunes plummeted after the Duke of Burgundy switched sides to Charles VII. Distracted by the Wars of the Roses at home, England steadily lost all its possessions in France except the port of Calais. Charles VII stabilized his reign and transformed France into a great power.

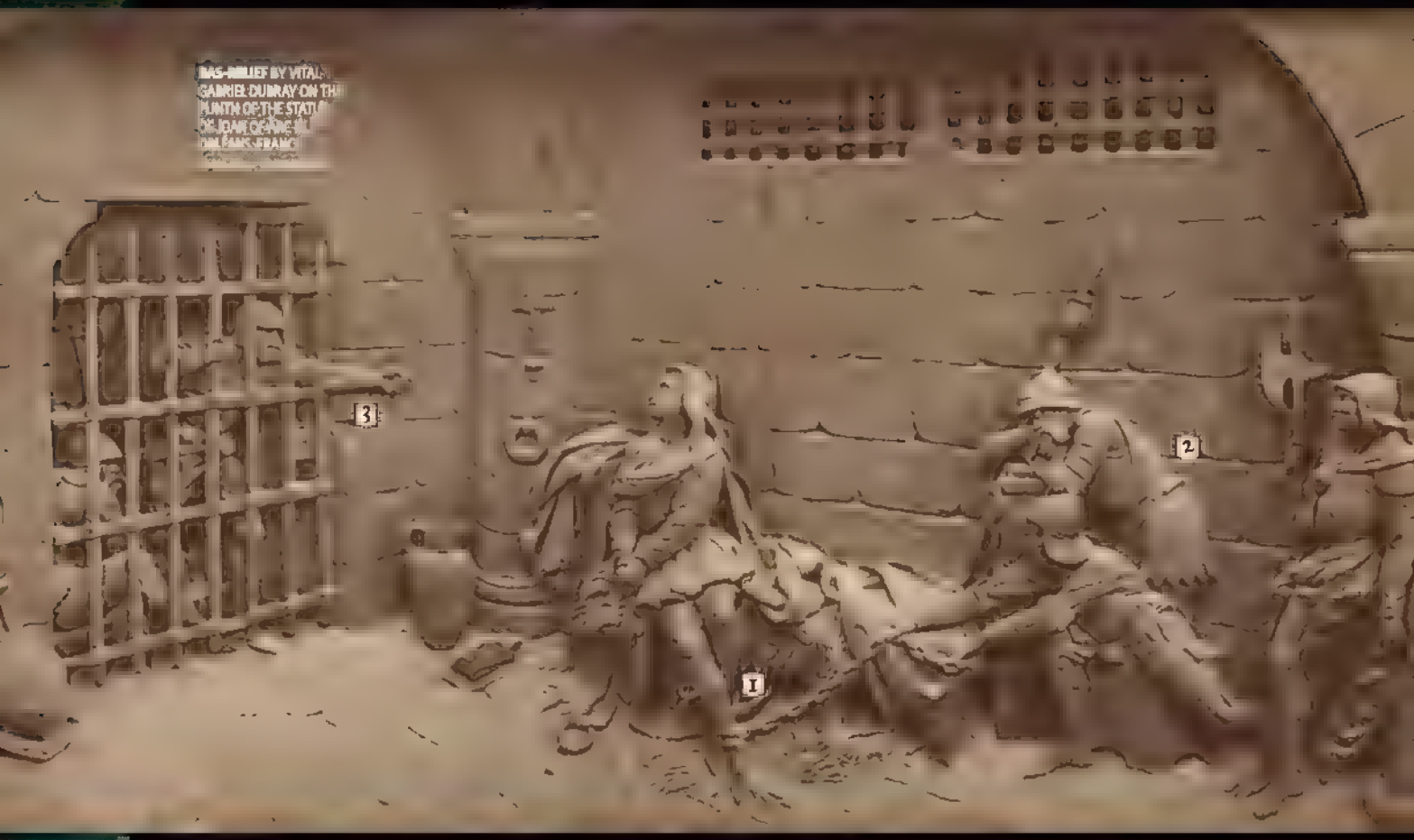
More than 20 years after her death, an inquiry into Joan's trial ordered by Charles VII resulted in her sentence being overturned. Joan of Arc's importance to the French people was further solidified when she was made a saint, four centuries later, in 1920.

JULIEN THÉRY TEACHES MEDIEVAL HISTORY AT THE CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES, PAUL VALÉRY UNIVERSITY, MONTPELLIER, FRANCE

SPIRITUAL POWER
Work began in the 12th century on the Gothic cathedral of Rouen, whose canons participated in Joan of Arc's trial, held in the neighboring Archbishop's Palace.

FROM CELL TO STAKE

Joan of Arc spent much of the last months of her life chained and taunted in a dark cell.



Last months

Joan of Arc had been incarcerated in a room in the castle of Rouen since the first days of her trial. The conditions of imprisonment were, by most accounts, very harsh. As she had attempted to escape on various occasions, her English captors restricted her movements with a long chain attached to her feet [1] and watched her every move. According to one witness, she was also restrained on her bed at night, observed closely by three guards inside the cell [2] and two others outside [3], all English. According to another witness, the jailers "were wretched brutes who wanted the death of Joan and taunted her mercilessly." During the brief period in which she had recanted and agreed to wear a dress, Joan claimed her guards had tried to rape her, which is why she decided to put on men's clothes again. The only people who visited her were her judges, certain curious English nobles, and French-speaking spies who hoped to gain information from her.

Last moments

The court bailiff of Rouen, Father Jean Massieu, was present at the execution of Joan of Arc, and recorded his observations her death: "She was led to the Old Market ... with an escort of eight hundred soldiers armed with axes and swords [1]. And when she came to the Market she listened to the sermon with fortitude, and most calmly, showing evidence and clear proof of her contrition, penitence, and fervent faith, she uttered pious and devout lamentations ... An Englishman who was present made her a [cross] out of wood and handed it to her. She received it and kissed it most devotedly, uttering pious lamentations ... Then she put that cross on her breast [2] ... and humbly asked me to let her have the crucifix from the church so that she could gaze on it until her death. I saw to it that the clerk of the parish church of Saint Sauveur brought it to her [3] ... and her last word, as she died, was a loud cry of 'Jesus.'"

JOINING THE FIGHT

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS WORLD WAR I

One hundred years ago, Europe had endured nearly three years of horrific, industrialized war while the United States stayed officially neutral. Testing the patience of President Woodrow Wilson, repeated German effrontery finally spurred Wilson to lead the nation into the Great War in April 1917.

K. M. KOSTYAL

POINT OF ENTRY

To encourage enlistment in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) shown here in Lorraine, France, the U.S. government commissioned artwork like the iconic Uncle Sam recruiting poster (opposite). By war's end the AEF would number more than one million.

BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES; (OPPOSITE) HOLLYWOOD ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

SINKING OF THE *LUSITANIA*
Survivors escape the sinking *Lusitania*, the British liner attacked by a German U-boat near the Irish coast on May 7, 1915. Germany had warned that any ship in British waters was a potential target.

AGE FOTOSTOCK/PRISMA ARCHIVO

As simple as it may sound, the European world collapsed on itself like a matchstick castle in summer 1914. Britain, France, and Russia were bonded in a "Triple Entente," while Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were bound in a Triple Alliance. These conflicting alliances from previous wars pulled and tugged at the structure until it came tumbling down on June 28,

VICTORY MEDALS

The United States issued these medals to members of the U.S. military who served in World War I. The back of the medal (above) lists the Allied countries, while the front depicts a figure of the winged victory

NGS IMAGE/DAGLI ORTI/AURIMAGES

when a Serbian nationalist killed the visiting Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne. With nationalist elements threatening to pull its empire apart, Austria-Hungary struck back at Serbia, who then called on its ally Russia for aid. That inspired Germany to declare war on Russia and France, and Great Britain to respond with a declaration of war on Germany. Japan, allied with Britain, followed suit.

At first, the United States declared itself officially neutral, and President Woodrow Wilson counseled his fellow countrymen: "The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments . . . ." Sound and high-minded advice that would be hard for everyone, including Wilson, to follow.

Twentieth-Century Horrors

No one could have foreseen the savagery unleashed by the world's first industrialized war, where the efficiency of modern killing machines surpassed anything imagined in past European conflicts. On the battlefield, 19th-century tactics soon proved useless against 20th-century weapons. Terrorizing the ground, machine guns had a firepower that equaled 80 rifles. Advances in artillery rained down explosives on soldiers in the trenches. Armored cars and tanks first rolled their way into battle in World War I. Chemical warfare, in the form of chlorine, mustard gas, and phosgene, poisoned hundreds of thousands of soldiers.

Advances in technology led to battles taking place almost anywhere on Earth. Devastation threatened from above and below, with dirigibles prowling the skies and submarines prowling the seas. Observation balloons were used for gathering intelligence, and zeppelins were used in bombing raids. World War I was the first major war to be fought in the air; British, French, and German flying aces engaged in famous dogfights over Europe. In the seas, Germans held the advantage: Their U-boats were state of the art, a submarine more advanced than any other nation's. A U-boat could carry 35 men and 12 torpedoes and travel underwater for two hours at a time.

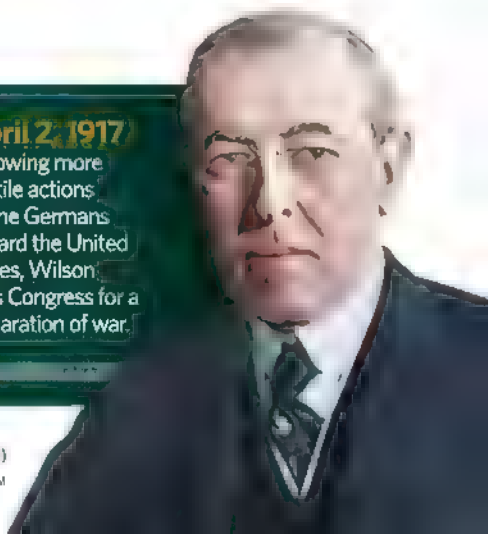
WILSON WATCHES AND WAITS

June 28, 1914
Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife are assassinated in Sarajevo, drawing European powers into a massive war.

August 4, 1914
As war intensifies across Europe, President Wilson declares that the United States will remain officially neutral.

May 7, 1915
The British ocean liner *Lusitania* is torpedoed by the Germans, killing nearly 1,200 people, including 128 Americans.

April 2, 1917
Following more hostile actions by the Germans toward the United States, Wilson asks Congress for a declaration of war.



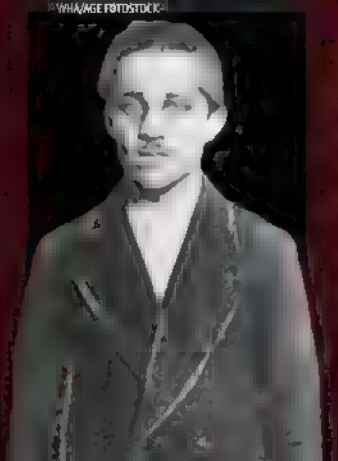
WOODROW WILSON 28TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (1913-1921)

AKG/ALBUM

FREEDOM FIGHTER GAVRILO PRINCIP (LOWER RIGHT) FIRES AT ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND AND HIS WIFE, SOPHIE, IN THIS ILLUSTRATION, WHICH RAN IN AN ITALIAN NEWSPAPER IN JULY 1914.

REVOLUTIONARY TEEN A MEMBER OF THE SECRET SOCIETY THE BLACK HAND, 19-YEAR-OLD PRINCIP BELIEVED THAT IN ORDER FOR THE BALKAN NATIONS TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE, A MEMBER OF THE HABSBURG FAMILY OR OTHER HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL MUST BE ASSASSINATED.

WHA/AGE FOTOSTOCK



THE SHOTS THAT ROCKED THE WORLD

A COUPLE OF GUNSHOTS probably never before formed a connection between such a line of complicated causes and such an infinite variety of possibly still more complicated effects." That was the *New York Times*'s prescient take on what had happened in faraway Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the day before—June 28, 1914. During an official visit to inspect the Austro-Hungarian army, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, were assassinated by Bosnian peasant 19-year-old Gavrilo Princip. The killer was one of three assassins dispatched to Sarajevo by the Black Hand, a national terrorist group pushing for independence from Austria-Hungary for Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first attempt on the archduke's life—a grenade thrown at his car—had failed, and the assassins disbanded. Hours later, Princip happened to be at a café as the archduke's car was passing; he fired his gun and accomplished his mission. For his crimes, he was sentenced to 20 years in prison, the maximum for criminals under the age of 20. He only served a short time, dying a prisoner in 1918.

By late August 1914, the war was being fought on two fronts—eastern and western—and Germany was winning on both. It had destroyed the Russian Second Army at the Battle of Tannenberg, and it had invaded Belgium and northeastern France. Its forces were within 30 miles of Paris when a combined allied force of French and British halted the German juggernaut and pushed it back beyond the Marne River. Some 6,000 French reserve troops had made it to the front, thanks to an army of Parisian taxi drivers who ferried them there.

As fall moved toward winter, both sides literally dug in, creating an elaborate system of trenches across northeastern France. The war that had moved with such lightning speed in its early months became bogged down along the western front into a Dantean hell of trench warfare that would last for years.

No young man who had marched eagerly off to the Great War could have anticipated that subterranean, surreal world, where a soldier could wait month after month in wet fetid ground, in heat and cold, staring at the enemy across a no-man's-land, knowing that incoming shellfire or poison gas or a sniper's bullet could take him or a buddy out at any time. Lice, filth, boredom, and the noxious stench of rotting flesh, sweat, cordite, and human waste plagued the men as much as disease and death. Even in the first year of the war, some men began to suffer from a strange bundle of symptoms that left them incapacitated with confusion, fatigue, tremors, nightmares, and impaired sight and hearing. The men named it themselves—they called it shell shock.

Mounting Pressures

By the war's second year, the conflict had engulfed virtually all the world, from major powers to minor principalities. Japan had attacked German-held territories in China and the Pacific, while Russia had declared war on the fading Ottoman Empire, leading British, French, and Anzac forces to attempt a disastrous invasion of Turkey through the Dardanelles and up the Gallipoli Peninsula.

America watched the events with a wary eye, still determined to remain neutral. Vocal factions, including suffragettes, prohibitionists, and Wobblies—members of the Industrial Workers of the World—had their own political agendas that they feared would be derailed if war diverted the public's energies and attention. And President Wilson continued to preach neutrality, even as he nurtured a deep-seated love of things British, particularly their laws and literature (he was an especially ardent admirer of Wordsworth). A shared language and traditions inclined many Americans toward their close cousins across the Atlantic, but not all. German Americans and Irish Americans

WORLD WAR I: EUROPE 1914

IN 1914 THE NATIONS OF EUROPE were bound up in a series of entangling alliances that dragged them into the First World War. The United States, when it entered the war in 1917, would side with Britain, France, and Russia against Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.

THE LAST EMPEROR

Ruler of the German empire, Kaiser Wilhelm II lost much of his political influence during World War I as his generals gained power

ALAMY/AC

DEATH FROM ABOVE

BRAINCHILD AND NAMESAKE of Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, German airship [illegible] attack. Twice as long as [illegible] explains historian Kate Arg[illegible] it." In the late spring of 1915, zeppelins [illegible] London. On May 30–31 a zepp[illegible] pounds of [illegible] and [illegible] baby [illegible] went on board early and the [illegible] defenseless [illegible] attack from the air. [illegible] British responded over time by counterattacking with incendiary devices that could ignite the zeppelins' hydrogen to bring them down.

DOWN IN FLAMES AFTER A SERIES OF GERMAN AIR RAIDS, ENGLAND WAS READY TO STRIKE BACK. IN 1916 A ZEPPELIN WAS SHOT DOWN. IT'S FLAMING WRECKAGE COULD BE SEEN FOR HUNDREDS OF MILES.

had no sympathy for the British or their cause, particularly in the first year of the war.

In the second year, though, things began to sway the general populace toward war. On May 7, the British Cunard liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed by a German U-boat off the Irish coast, and almost 1,200 passengers were lost, including 128 Americans. The Germans had warned that they would sink enemy vessels on sight, and in truth, the *Lusitania* was carrying munitions. Still, the U.S. public was outraged by the attack, and British propaganda fanned the flames.

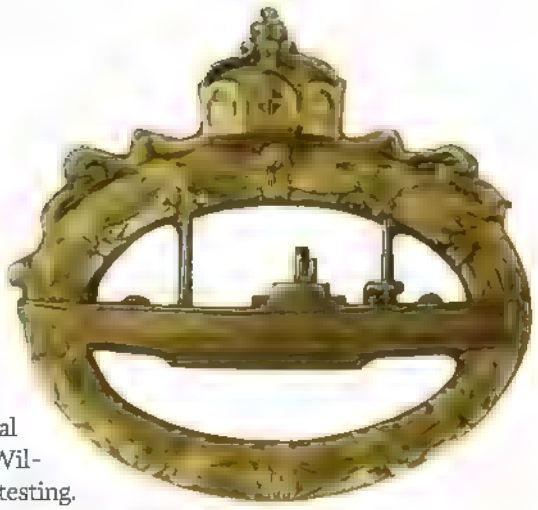
Britain's ships had been blockading Germany for months, and its navy had cut the undersea cable that allowed its enemy to communicate easily with the Western world. That move, as much as any strategic battlefield maneuver, guaranteed Britain dominance in the war to win American hearts and minds. The British propaganda machine kept up a steady diet of stories detailing and hyperbolizing German atrocities against Belgian civilians. Meanwhile, orders from Britain and France for munitions and food were pouring into the United States, fueling a war boom that gave a healthy boost to household incomes.

Even as the U.S. unabashedly supplied France and Britain, and the old warrior Teddy Roosevelt pounded his fists for war (considering yet another run for president in 1916), Wilson officially clung to his position of neutrality. Through his unofficial ambassador to the belligerents, Col. Edward House, Wilson offered to mediate a peace between the warring parties. But he also sought congressional approval for a large military buildup in the fall of 1915.

War Rages On

America was far from prepared for a large-scale war, much less one overseas. In 1914, when the conflict began, the United States had less than 100,000 soldiers scattered across the world, with another 120,000 in the National Guard. When Wilson had taken office, the greatest external threat the country faced came from an unsettled revolution and unrest in Mexico. That situation remained unresolved, but more pressing was the problem of freedom of the seas.

Germany had warned that even neutral vessels in British waters "would be destroyed without it always being possible to warn the crews and passengers." Since the war began, it had ramped up U-boat production to a frantic pace, and submarine stealth and precision had brought down several British ships and kept Wilson ever on guard and protesting. Not the strongest candidate for the position, the U.S. secretary of the Navy—political loyalist, pacifist, and small-town newspaperman Josephus Daniels—unfortunately had no experience with naval affairs, or boats for that matter. The more experienced assistant secretary, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, would later say: "The Secretary was told hundreds of times that in case we should need . . . to jump from 52,000 to even 70,000 to 150,0000 men in a month or two [it] would absolutely upset the existing organization."



BADGE OF HONOR

Instituted in February 1918, the German government awarded the U-boat War Badge (above) to crews in the Imperia Navy who had completed three war patrols.

DON TROIANI/BRIDGEMAN/AC

Yet that need would soon come as the European powers relentlessly continued the fight. Despite Wilson's constant efforts to find an end to the "war to end wars," none was in sight in 1916. All of Colonel House's back-door negotiations had resulted in little and convinced him that each of the major belligerents wanted a total victory, not a brokered peace. Kaiser Wilhelm had determined to focus Germany's might on crushing Britain through an unconditional submarine war against its merchant ships, and at the same time to "bleed France white" with a set-piece siege of the fortress Verdun, in northeastern France.

The Germans attacked Verdun in late February 1916, and for eight interminable, inhumane months, the siege dragged on. Always intent on perfecting its chemical warfare techniques, Germany had lobbed phosgene gas at the Allies during the siege; once in the lungs, the deadly compound turned to hydrochloric acid, burning men from the inside.

Meanwhile, the British had developed their own new weapon—the tank. And in early summer, during their tragic and misbegotten Somme offensive, tanks rolled onto the battlefield for the first time—to little avail. It took the British and French until November to advance seven miles

STAPLETON COLLECTION/BRIDGEMAN/AGI

A BLOODY DAY FOR BRITAIN

JULY 1, 1916, WEST OF THE SOMME RIVER, northern France: In the dawn light, British and French artillery opened up, firing nearly a quarter million shells on the enemy's entrenched positions—the final barrage before the "Big Push." At 7:30, the first Allied officers, the great majority British Expeditionary Force, led their men out of the trenches and "over the top." After eight days of bombarding German forward positions, they expected to advance across no-man's-land virtually unopposed, so they were surprised to see German barbed wire still in place. Still, they kept moving forward. Then, a hundred yards from the enemy line, they were mowed down by the Germans, whose deep concrete bunkers and machine guns had remained virtually unscathed. The day remains the single bloodiest in the history of the British Army: almost 60,000 men killed or wounded, many officers in the first hour. The battle continued for another 140 days along a 15-mile front and claimed some 1.3 million casualties.

THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME REVEALED THE HORRIFIC NATURE OF MODERN WARFARE: IMMOVABLE TRENCHES (ABOVE), HEAVY ARTILLERY (LOWER LEFT), AND MASSIVE CASUALTIES (LOWER RIGHT). THE UNITED STATES WAS UNPREPARED FOR THE KIND OF WAR THAT ITS ALLIES HAD BEEN FIGHTING FOR NEARLY THREE YEARS.

IWM/GETTY IMAGES

GRANGER

along the northwestern front, and it cost them more than 620,000 casualties. By the time the French finally broke through at Verdun a month later, they had suffered close to 400,000 casualties and the Germans 350,000.

Neutral No More

While these grueling battles tore apart Europe in 1916, the United States suddenly had its own conflict to address much closer to home. The Mexican bandit general Pancho Villa was spoiling to engage with American forces, and to that end had attacked the small town of Columbus, New Mexico, in early March. Within days, Brig. Gen. John "Black Jack" Pershing was on the march, leading a punitive, and ultimately fruitless, expedition to track down Villa.

Soon, much of the existing U.S. Army and tens of thousands of National Guardsmen had made their way to the Southwest, leaving the Atlantic coastline open to German attack or sabotage. It came at the end of July 1916. Black Tom Island, a major depot off the coast of Jersey City, New Jersey, held much of the munitions being sold by the United States to the British. Covert German agents engineered an explosion on the island, in what some historians claim is the first act of terrorism on U.S. soil by a foreign power. Citizens in Manhattan and Jersey City saw the blast close up, but people as far away as Philadelphia felt and heard it, too. Even the Statue of Liberty was damaged: Visitor access to her torch closed after the explosion and has remained off-limits ever since.

Two months earlier, Wilson had been in New York to address the League to Enforce Peace, assuring its members that "[t]here is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has," and that its "interest is only in peace and its future guarantees." Wilson continued that message into the fall of 1916, as he fought a close presidential campaign against Republican Charles Hughes. Wilson won, but barely, with 277 electoral votes to Hughes's 254.

In March 1917 Wilson's steadfast neutrality was pushed beyond even his limits, when the British intercepted and deciphered a telegram sent by German foreign minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German ambassador to Mexico. In it, Zimmermann said that Germany intended "to begin . . . unrestricted submarine warfare" and that the ambassador should "make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona." Zimmermann ended by instructing that the Mexican president be made aware "that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace." Later that month, German U-boats attacked and sank three American merchant ships.

On April 2, Wilson called Congress in to an "extraordinary session," to request a declaration of war against Germany. He assured members of Congress that "the world must be safe for democracy" and that "[the United States has] no quarrel with the German people . . ." but only with its "little groups of ambitious men who . . . use their fellowmen as pawns and tools." He continued:

> It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Four days later the United States was officially at war, though it was still far from ready to take on the fight.

EFFECTIVE EXPLOSIVES

Grenades were not new technology, but the nature of trench warfare resulted in the development of different types of bombs, such as the double-cylinder model (above)

BIKEMECH/GETTY IMAGES

THE GENERAL'S HORSE KIDRON WAS BELOVED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WHEN HE DIED IN 1942, THE *NEW YORK TIMES* PRINTED AN OBITUARY

BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY PANCHO VILLA AROUSED THE IRE OF THE UNITED STATES WHEN HE EXECUTED SOME 17 U.S. CITIZENS IN CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO, IN JANUARY 1916. TWO MONTHS LATER HE ATTACKED COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO, PROMPTING U.S. PRESIDENT WILSON TO SEND THE ARMY TO TRACK HIM DOWN.

GRANGER/ALBUM

"BLACK JACK" PERSHING

JOHN J. PERSHING WAS BORN into an America still recovering from its own great war—the Civil War. He grew up in Missouri and then became a teacher, for a time of African Americans. When he was 22, he entered a competition for West Point appointment, not because he wanted to be a soldier but because it meant a free, quality education. After graduation in 1886, he fought the Apache and Sioux, and his nickname probably came from his time as a young officer with the Tenth Cavalry, a black regiment. During the Spanish-American War, Pershing saw action in Cuba, fighting alongside Teddy Roosevelt and the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, also known as the Rough Riders. It was in the American colony of the Philippines, though, that he established his reputation for leadership and tactics, which grew when he led the 1916 Punitive Expedition into Mexico to hunt down Pancho Villa. When war with Germany came in 1917, Pershing was made commander of the American Expeditionary Forces. Though his war strategy was criticized, Black Jack Pershing returned home a great national hero. Congress bestowed him with the title General of the Armies, the equivalent of a six-star general. Pershing and George Washington are the only two soldiers ever awarded that rank.

Battle Preparations

On June 5, 1917, the first day of the draft, millions of American men registered for service at their local draft boards as military bands played and crowds cheered. Americans moved quickly on the home front to support the war effort. The American propaganda machine preached patriotism, a wariness for spies "in our midst," and food conservation. "Food Will Win the War," preached the campaign spearheaded by Food Administration director Herbert Hoover and fueled by a phalanx of top American illustrators. By planting "war gardens" and giving up meat and wheat, American families could help feed their troops overseas and the starving masses of Europe.

A few months later the combined Army and National Guard forces stood at just over 400,000 men—almost exactly the number the French had lost just in the fighting at Verdun—and most of the officers were inexperienced. Only Pershing had commanded a large force, and he was soon appointed commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). But Pershing, then 56, and most of the Army's top brass were woefully ignorant of the kind of modern warfare being conducted in Europe and clung to an outdated tactic from the Army *Infantry Journal*: "In battle, it is the most resisting soul that triumphs." They believed that small mobile units armed with rifles could somehow win the day against tanks, poison gas, airplanes, and machine guns. They also harbored the strange expectation that their untrained soldiers would not have to fight a major offensive until sometime in 1919.

In June 1917 Pershing landed in France with the First Division—the "Big Red One." On July 4 one of its battalions paraded through the streets of Paris, arriving with fanfare at the tomb of an old ally from the War for Independence. There, Col. Charles Stanton announced on behalf of the AEF, "Lafayette, we are here!" Under orders from Wilson, the AEF troops were not to be merged with the Allies but to remain "a separate and distinct component . . . the identity of which must be preserved." They were, however, to be trained in tactics by the French, who set a rigorous pace. According to one AEF officer, George Marshall (who would rise to great heights in World War II), Pershing "did not approve of the French methods of instruction."

It would take the loss of thousands of men before American commanders changed their strategy. "It was the grim common sense of the 'doughboy' and not our obsolete and impossible tactics that won us ground," Hervey Allen, a junior infantry officer serving on the western front later wrote. Before the year was out, some two million of these brave American soldiers would be fighting in the United States' first major international war—to its bloody end.

K. M. KOSTYAL IS AUTHOR OF MANY WORKS ON U.S. HISTORY INCLUDING *FOUNDING FATHERS: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN LIBERTY* (2014).

"THE YANKS ARE COMING"

George M. Cohan wrote the song "Over There" in April 1917 to cheer on American servicemen, like these two (above) sailing from New York City Harbor to Europe to join the fight.

CULVER PICTURES/AURIMAGES

Learn more

The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914
Christopher Clark. HarperCollins, 2013

The Last of the Doughboys: The Forgotten Generation and Their Forgotten World War
Richard Rubin. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013

ALAN SEEGER, AN AMERICAN SERVING IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN LEGION, DIED DURING THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME

IWM/GETTY IMAGES

THE POETRY OF WAR

THE DEVASTATION WROUGHT by the Great War spawned perhaps the greatest generation of soldier-poets ever—men who gave voice to the ardor, grief, horror, and even humor of the killing fields. Early in the war, English poet Rupert Brooke captured the gallant romance of it all in his "Soldier," which began "If I should die, think only this of me . . ." In fact, he did die—of disease on his way to fight at Gallipoli—but others after him were doomed to live through the dehumanizing tragedy of trench warfare, among the greatest were Siegfried Sassoon, Isaac Rosenberg, Alan Seeger, and Wilfred Owen. American Alan Seeger predicted his own death on the battlefield in his works. Owen, who died in action one week before the Armistice, had declared, "I am not concerned with Poetry. My subject is War, and the pity of War."

I Have a Rendezvous with Death

ALAN SEEGER

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple-blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God knows 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear . . .
But I've a rendezvous with Death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

NO-MAN'S-LAND WAS THE TERM FOR THE AREA BETWEEN OPPOSING TRENCHES, OFTEN BOUNDED BY BARBED WIRE

IWM/GETTY IMAGES

Dulce et Decorum est

WILFRED OWEN

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs,
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots,
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue; deaf even to the hoots
Of gas-shells dropping softly behind.

Gas! GAS! Quick, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime.—
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori.

Glory of Woman

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

You love us when we're heroes, home on leave,
Or wounded in a mentionable place.
You worship decorations; you believe
That chivalry redeems the war's disgrace.
You make us shells. You listen with delight,
By tales of dirt and danger fondly thrilled.

You crown our distant ardours while we fight,
And mourn our laurelled memories when we're killed.
You can't believe that British troops "retire"
When hell's last horror breaks them, and they run,
Trampling the terrible corpses—blind with blood.
O German mother dreaming by the fire,
While you are knitting socks to send your son
His face is trodden deeper in the mud.

Enkomi
Lost City of Copper

Rich in copper, skilled in bronzework, Cyprus was courted as a trading partner all over the ancient world. So why did it take so long for archaeologists to discover one of its greatest cities?

To the King of Egypt, my brother. Thus says the King of Alashiya, your brother: . . . Send your messenger along with my messenger quickly and all the copper that you desire I will send you."

Dating to 1375 B.C., these words are from the collection of tablets known as the Amarna Correspondence, a cache of diplomatic exchanges discovered in the late 19th century. Historians identify the king of Egypt as Akhenaten, but who was writing to him? And where was Alashiya?

Many historians feel that the most likely candidate for copper-rich Alashiya is in Cyprus. But the story of identifying the lost city near the modern-day Cypriot village of Enkomi is filled with archaeological blunders and near misses.

It is now known that during the Late Bronze Age, from the 15th to 11th centuries B.C., the Enkomi site was one of Cyprus's significant cities, a center of the copper trade, which was the island's main source of wealth. Unlike the nearby ancient city of Salamis whose Roman ruins stand to this day (not to be confused with the Island of Salamis just west of Athens), few traces of the ancient site now known as Enkomi remained.

Mistaken Identities

The first dig began in 1896 at a site located in what is today Turkish-controlled Northern Cyprus. It was led by Alexander Murray, the British Museum's leading Greco-Roman expert. Murray's work revealed an extensive necropolis with around a hundred tombs containing gold, silver, bronze, and marble objects, faience (tin-glazed earthenware), and precious stones. Although he considered the tombs to be very old, the medieval ceramics he found led him to misdate the site. Murray believed the signs of urban settlement were from around the 13th or 14th century A.D.

This erroneous late dating meant that later digs at the site failed to make proper historical connections. In 1913 John Myres, an Oxford

ENKOMI from the air. The Late Bronze Age site is located near Famagusta in Turkish-controlled Northern Cyprus.

GEORG GERSTER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

1896
The British Museum sends **Alexander Murray** to conduct an archaeological dig at Enkomi. He finds roughly 100 tombs.

1913–1930
Digs by **John Myres** (1913) and **Einar Gjerstad** (1930) fail to connect earlier digs with their excavations.

1946–1970
Claude Schaeffer uncovers a third of the Enkomi site establishing the existence of an ancient, copper-rich trading city in Cyprus.

1970
Olivier Pelon becomes director of the ongoing excavation at Enkomi until 1974, when Turkey invades Cyprus.

WOMAN AND CHILD TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FROM ENKOMI, 1450-1200 B.C. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON
BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

University professor and a highly regarded authority on Cypriot archaeology, undertook a three-month exploration of the site, and unearthed a series of extensive city walls.

Later, Myres expressed regret for calling a halt to the work despite recognizing at the time that the walls were neither Byzantine nor Greco-Roman. They seemed to be part of a much more ancient city to which the necropolis belonged.

A later dig, conducted by the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad in 1930, worked on the assumption that the city associated with the tombs would be in another part of the site altogether. His team failed to realize that the necropolis and the city were actually intertwined.

(continued on page 94)

CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

BORN IN ALSACE in 1898 when it was still a region of Germany, Claude Schaeffer fought for the Germans in World War I as a German, and for the French in World War II. Pictured here on the set of a French television program in 1953, Schaeffer (left) maintained a close relationship with Oxford University and oversaw the excavations at Enkomi from 1946 to 1970.

PHILIPPE BATAILLON/GETTY IMAGES

UP CLOSE TO THE HORNED GOD

IN 1961 archaeologists digging at the site of Enkomi in northern Cyprus found a concentration of terra-cotta figures a few feet away from the city's bronze and copper workshops. Two years later, the spot was revealed to be a shrine, named for the extraordinary bronze statue of the horned god unearthed there. The picture shows the statue as it was found, contemplated by Claude Schaeffer's Cypriot colleague, Porphyrios Dikaios. Some 22 inches high, and dating from the 12th century B.C., the god has been identified as a Cypriot version of Apollo, a deity associated with youth, fertility, and creativity.

IMAGE REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

HORNED GOD
BRONZE, 12TH CENTURY B.C.
CYPRUS MUSEUM, NICOSIA
DEA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Inspired by one of the world's rarest gems!

Based on original artwork by

Blake Jensen

She shares her strength with you!

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Cypriot Splendor
ARCHAEOLOGICAL digs at Enkomi brought hundreds of objects of exquisite craftsmanship to light. Discovered in the city's tombs and sanctuaries, most of the items are now on display in the British Museum, London, and in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
A warrior fights a gryphon with an eagle's head and a lion's body on this ivory mirror handle. 13th century B.C.
This pastoral vessel depicts a bird removing a tick from a bull's neck. 13th century B.C.
Silver cup decorated with gold details in the shape of bucrania and lotus flowers. 14th century B.C.
Bronze "ingot god," named for the ox-hide shaped ingot of copper on which it stands. 12th century B.C.
Gold diadem with Mycenaean-influenced embossed plant motifs. 14th century B.C.

MIRROR HOLDER AND VESSEL: BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE; CUP: DEA/AGE FOTOSTOCK; GOD: DEA/ALBUM; DIADEM: PRISMA/ALBUM

Years later he acknowledged his blunder: "I was working on a pre-conceived idea. Since burial-grounds and settlements were . . . separated, as far as was known, during the whole Bronze Age in Cyprus, there was no reason to suppose that there were other habits in Enkomi."

Finding the Answers

Much of the puzzle of Enkomi was finally pieced together under the team led by French archaeologist Claude F. A. Schaeffer. Educated at Strasbourg and Oxford, Schaeffer excavated in 1929 the ancient city of Ugarit, located on the Syrian coast opposite Cyprus. The abundance of Cypriot material found there led him to explore the ancient cultural ties between Ugarit and Cyprus. Schaeffer would later direct the long-running archaeological expedition in Enkomi until 1970, assisted by Porphyrios Dikaios, curator and later director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities.

The Schaeffer-Dikaios partnership established that the necropolis developed in and around a bustling ancient city, which peaked between 1340 and 1200 B.C. Surrounded by a wall built using the "cyclopean" technique of massive stone blocks, it consisted of dwellings, temples, and workshops where copper was processed and bronze items produced.

So was Enkomi the principal city of the copper-rich Alashiya mentioned in the Amarna Correspondence? In 1963 the discovery there of a bronze statuette of a divinity standing on a copper ingot (see above) seemed to support this theory.

In 1974 Cyprus was invaded by Turkey, who occupied the northern part of the island—a disputed situation that continues to this day. Schaeffer's successor, Olivier Pelon, who had taken over in 1970, was forced to suspend the dig. Since then, while most historians believe Cyprus is indeed the Alashiya of antiquity, new research has called into question Enkomi's status as a "capital" or principal city of this wealthy state.

To judge from the large range of exquisite objects in museums such as the British Museum, however, Enkomi must have been a sophisticated urban center. Around the 11th century B.C., the city was abandoned while the city of Salamis rose to prominence, becoming the principal Cypriot trading center with Egypt and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.

—María Teresa Magadán

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NOTRE DAME: A STORY IN STONE

BEGUN IN THE 12TH CENTURY and crowned one hundred years later by its distinctive twin towers, the Gothic masterpiece Notre Dame tells the story of France's rise to glory. Through good times and bad, no age left it untouched. During the French Revolution, it was vandalized and then repurposed as a "temple to Reason." Regarded as an outmoded hulk by the early 1800s, the church was beloved by the Romantics, led by Victor Hugo, who helped restore France's respect for one of Paris's most iconic landmarks.

THE MISTRESS OF MURDER IN MESOPOTAMIA

IN 1929 AGATHA CHRISTIE rode the *Orient Express* to Baghdad and visited the archaeological dig at Ur. Already captivated by Mesopotamian history, she met, and subsequently married, the Ur-based archaeologist Max Mallowan (pictured here with Christie). Archaeology would dominate the rest of the best-selling author's life. She set her 1936 Poirot thriller *Murder in Mesopotamia* at Ur, and she remained deeply involved in Mallowan's career, which peaked with his directorship of the dig at Nimrud in 1947.

MARY EVANS/SCALA, FLORENCE

Operation Hieroglyph

Since the *Hieroglyphica* of the fifth century A.D., scholars have vied to decipher ancient Egyptian writing, culminating in Champollion's breakthrough in the 19th century.

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

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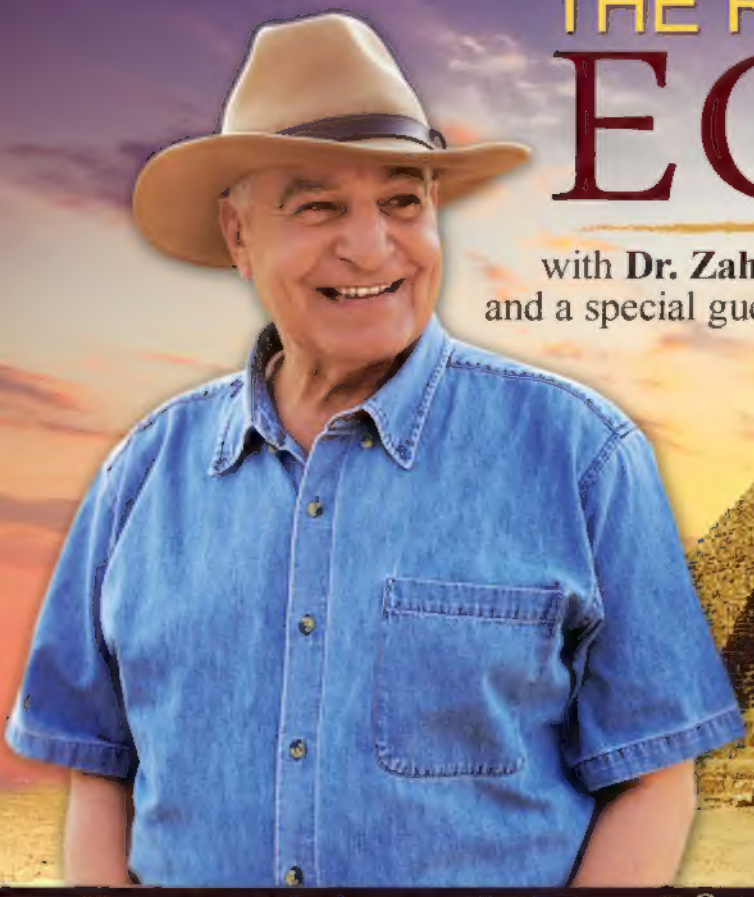
and a special guest **Mrs. Jehan Sadat**, Egypt's First Lady



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